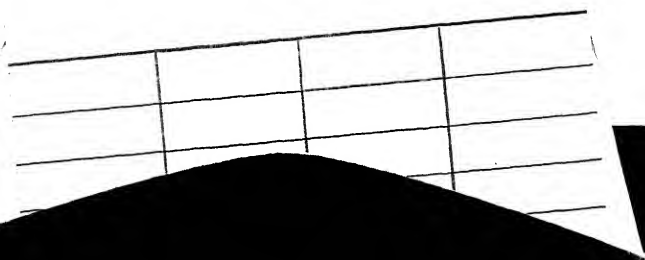


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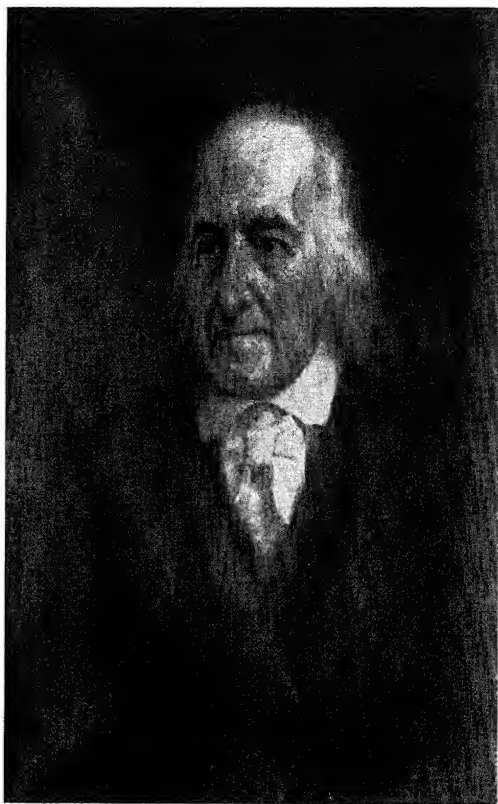
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NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

1832-1932



ALBERT GALLATIN
First President of the Council
1831

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

1832 : 1932

EDITED BY

THEODORE FRANCIS JONES

*Professor of History · Director of the General Library
New York University*



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TO
ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN
SEVENTH CHANCELLOR
OF
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

PREFACE

WHEN plans were being made for a fitting observance of the centennial anniversary of New York University, the Council of the University asked me to prepare a history of its development during the hundred years that have elapsed since the foundation. I hope that the results of this commission may be of interest both to the friends of the University and to students of the history of higher education in the United States.

A word may be said as to the method of compilation. From the viewpoint of unity, it might be desirable that the composition should have been the work of one pen. I soon decided, however, that the interests of individual schools would be best preserved by entrusting the story of each of those schools to an author more qualified, by his close connection therewith than one man can be, to present its particular development. This method has its disadvantages, of which repetition and diversity of critical judgment are the most conspicuous. I hope that its advantages will compensate somewhat for these evident faults. To my colleagues who have written the chapters devoted to their own schools, I extend my sincere thanks for their collaboration; from them I solicit indulgence for any results of my editorial supervision which may not be in accordance with their own best judgments. I have myself attempted to depict the growth of the University as a whole. To the appendix I have relegated various items of specialized interest, in the preparation of some of which I have myself found especial pleasure.

Some of my readers will note with disapproval the omission of subjects particularly dear to them. It seemed to me unwise to devote separate chapters to schools of very recent

HISTORY OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

creation, such as the Colleges of Dentistry and of Fine Arts; I trust that this omission will not be taken as a sign of lack of sympathy, but rather as a necessary result of the brevity of their existence. I especially regret the absence of a chapter upon the Graduate School, about which, many will say, the true University should be built. Upon consideration, however, I found it simpler, if not better, to speak of its history in connection with the university as a whole and with the two colleges of liberal arts. I devoutly hope that, in the history which may be written for the bicentenary of the University, the Graduate School will have its revenge for the meagreness of its treatment here.

Other readers will deplore the absence of references to the social and athletic life of the undergraduates. With regret I have been obliged to restrict our work to a history of educational progress in the narrower sense of the phrase; a second volume might well be devoted to the possibly more human side of our history.

Over thirty years ago, Professor Ernest G. Sihler published, with the coöperation of Chancellor MacCracken, a history of the University. To him my first thanks are due in the preparation of this volume. I can only say that without his work my task would have been infinitely harder; and that, for the period covered by it, I have been able merely to glean where he reaped. So convinced did I become of the fullness and accuracy of his detail, that I have always hesitated to differ from his interpretation on the few occasions when I have done so.

To Chancellor Elmer Ellsworth Brown, to LeRoy E. Kimball, Esq., Comptroller, to Harold O. Voorhis, Esq., Secretary, and to Professor Marshall S. Brown, Dean of the Faculties, of the University, and to Dr. Irving Husted Berg, of the University Council, I have never turned in vain for encouragement and advice. From my colleagues, Dean Archibald Lewis Bouton of the University College,

PREFACE

Professors Daniel W. Hering, T. W. Edmondson, A. S. Borgman, and J. H. Park, I have received invaluable assistance. Professor P. B. McDonald, the author of the chapter on the College of Engineering, has given me constant counsel, in matters of both style and fact. To all of them I express my hearty thanks.

Mr. Harold Emerson Smith, of the University Heights Library, has rendered me service in the preparation of the maps and other illustrations for which I cannot express enough gratitude.

From the officers of the University Press, Professor Arthur H. Nason, Director, and Mr. H. C. Whitford, I have received every courtesy; to them is due any outward merit which the history may possess. Without the help of Miss Helen Sheehan my work would have been much more difficult.

I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the permission of the Society of Iconophiles, through I. N. Phelps Stokes, Esq., secretary, and of the Collegiate Reformed Church of New York to publish, respectively, the view of the storming of Fort Washington and the early map of Fordham Manor. To Judge A. T. Clearwater, owner of the portrait of Chancellor Mathews by Henry Inman, I am most grateful for permitting its publication; my thanks extend as well to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which courteously furnished me with a photograph of this portrait.

Last, but by no means least, are the thanks which I owe to my mother. Without her my part in this history would not have been written.

T. F. J.

UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS,
NEW YORK CITY,
December 3, 1932

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NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

1832-1932

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY

IN the third decade of the nineteenth century, improvement in education was a subject of keen interest in the United States. However convinced in assertion most Americans were of the inherent superiority of their institutions to those of Europe, many of them were very sensitive to European criticism, and at least a few realized the inferiority of our provision for education. New Englanders might piously boast of their forefathers' devotion in the fostering of common schools and colleges; but Horace Mann was now telling them that the common schools of Massachusetts were neglected, and George Ticknor, quickened by travel and study in Europe, was impressed with the inadequacy of the Harvard curriculum. Virginians might glory in the culture of their aristocracy; but, since his *Rockfish Gap Report* of 1818, Thomas Jefferson was devoting all his talents to the organization of a true university in Virginia, with a wide course of study and independent of sectarian control. In New York, Governor DeWitt Clinton was insisting that "the first duty of government and the surest evidence of good government is the encouragement of education." Nearly every issue of the *North American Review* included an essay upon the advancement of American education. At the conclusion of his history of Harvard University, written for its second centennial, Josiah Quincy writes: "We hear daily of 'the spirit of the age,' of 'the wants of the age,' and of the duties of seminaries of learning to keep pace with that spirit, and to supply its wants. . . . At no former period has the desire to partake in the

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honors and benefits of intellectual power been so intense and universal.”¹

Currents of thought of many types and many sources combined to create in the United States at this time a renewed interest in education. To a few Americans the chief appeal was the desire to improve the conditions of preparation for the learned professions, partly in the field of pre-professional training, mostly in the professional training itself. Such men were, perhaps, largely encouraged by the example of recent developments in German universities, amply described to them by the son of President Timothy Dwight of Yale, Henry Edwin Dwight, who had studied for four years at Göttingen and who, upon his return to America, had published his *Travels in the North of Germany*, laudatory of the universities of Berlin and Göttingen, which seems to have excited particular interest in its many readers.² An article in the *North American Review*, vol. 27, July, 1828, remarks that the “very nature of a university requires that the study of the professions should form its basis and its principal object.” It criticizes the new London University for making the studies *preparatory* to a professional course its leading object.

To the few other Americans with experience in German universities, such as George Bancroft and George Ticknor, the chief weakness in American education must well have seemed the extreme narrowness and shallowness of collegiate instruction compared to the breadth and depth of instruction offered in German universities. They did not reject the value of the classics, but believed classical teaching in American colleges to be too mechanical and elementary. Above all, however, they lamented the absence from American colleges of anything but the most rudimentary instruc-

¹ J. Quincy: *History of Harvard University*, Cambridge, 1840, vol. 2, pp. 443-4.

² Henry E. Dwight's nephew, Benjamin W. Dwight, in his *History of the Descendants of John Dwight*, 1874, vol. 1, p. 210, says that H. E. Dwight was invited to a professorship in New York University, which his poor health compelled him to decline.

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tion in the great fields of Philology, Modern Languages, Philosophy, History, Political Economy, and the Physical Sciences, in which the German universities were already so far advanced. To such men and to their friends who followed their ideas, it seemed that American colleges had no right to the name of universities until they broadened and deepened their instruction.

American colleges as they existed in 1820 had come into existence and had developed almost exclusively under religious auspices. Their principal function had been the training of clergymen; and their control had been and still was largely in clerical and sectarian hands. By 1820, however, on the one hand, there were many families that, for social and other reasons, wished their sons to receive a collegiate education, but did not intend them to become clergymen; and, on the other hand, American society had begun to lose some part of the respect and veneration for the clergy which had hitherto been so deep, at least in the North. The mercantile class and the legal and medical professions had come to have a certain distrust, perhaps, of the administrative ability of clergymen; and there was, of course, in circles influenced by Jeffersonian traditions, a distinct feeling that colleges controlled by sectarian influence could not be trusted to develop rational and scientific instruction. Albert Gallatin, for example, surely shared in these anti-clerical sentiments; and his later experience in the founding of New York University probably did not change his views. It would be easily possible, however, to exaggerate the relative importance in the 1820's of this point of view; in spite of Thomas Jefferson and of Stephen Girard, the conduct of higher education in America was still dependent upon clerical support.

An argument for educational change of much greater popular appeal in America than the professional, the scientific, or the rational lines of thought was the utilitarian and practical one. Perhaps Americans have never needed an

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external stimulus to be attracted by the appeal of practical utility; the feeling may be inherent in their nurture and environment. In 1830, however, their tendencies were strengthened by English example. The powerful influence of Jeremy Bentham and Lord Brougham had for some time made articulate the demands of the manufacturing and commercial classes for the provision in England of higher education which should train English youths for an active life in business rather than for the learned professions; and their arguments were, it may be presumed, of particular appeal in a city like New York, where the mercantile interests were so flourishing. American colleges in 1830 made no pretence of offering instruction which was of immediate or practical utility for young men preparing for a career in business. All the greater, therefore, was the interest aroused in the United States by the news of the opening in October, 1828, of a London University,³ to provide useful instruction, at a reasonable rate, primarily for young men of the middle classes.

From the utilitarian to the political argument was a short and easy step, especially in America. As a result of Andrew Jackson's victory at the polls in November, 1828, most Americans recognized that, for good or for evil, the United States had at last passed politically from the hands of the rich, the well-born, and the educated into the hands of a democracy flushed with victory. To safeguard the nation, the most necessary step, the educated classes believed, was to provide a useful and practical education for the masses. "In our country, universal education will contribute more than anything else to stay the powerful currents of national jealousy, rushing against each other from the north and the south; to combine the energies of so great a nation in one common cause; and to strengthen the ties . . . which arise from our history, our institutions, and our prospects,"

³ Cf. H. H. Bellot: *The University College, London, 1826-1926*, London, 1929.

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remarks the already quoted essay in the *North American Review*.⁴ "It appeared to me impossible to preserve our democratic institutions and the right of universal suffrage unless we could raise the standard of general education and the mind of the laboring classes nearer to a level with those born under more favorable circumstances," wrote⁵ Albert Gallatin to a friend in 1833, to explain his reasons for participating in the organization of New York University.

All of these ideas were in the air of New York City in 1829; and all were applicable to the special circumstances of the city. Provision for proper professional training in Law and Medicine was surely inadequate; in spite of Chancellor Kent's deserved reputation, the Law School of Columbia was in a languishing state; and the College of Physicians and Surgeons was far from flourishing. Columbia College boasted, with relative reason, of its high standards in the cultivation of the Classics; but its curriculum was rigidly classical, and no provision was made for advanced instruction in the newer fields of learning. It was, moreover, closely associated with the Episcopal Church; its students were few in number (about one hundred in 1829); and it was commonly considered as "aristocratic" in its tendencies. Surely little attention was paid to "useful and practical education," or to the enlightenment of the class called, in the jargon of the days, "mechanics." Were these conditions desirable in a city that boasted of its wealth and its business activity, in a city that, since the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, was rapidly increasing in population and had already become the "metropolis" of America? DeWitt Clinton, governor of the State from 1825 to 1828, had been deeply interested in the improvement of the common schools; and Philip Hone, who was mayor of the city in 1826, had been instrumental in the opening of the Mer-

⁴ Vol. 27, July, 1828, pp. 67-89.

⁵ Henry Adams: *Life of Albert Gallatin*, 1879, p. 648.

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cantile Library, in 1821, to provide reading for clerks and mechanics, and of the New York Athenaeum,⁶ in 1824, to provide monthly lectures for men and women, with the object of "advancing science, art, and literature." But New York had as yet no university; and the example of the new London University was evidence enough of what New York should have. Is it not probable that local pride, as well as educational conviction, played a part in the beginnings of New York University?

The first person to suggest the idea of a university in New York, it is said, was the Rev. Alexander Gunn, of Bloomingdale. He is reported to have spoken of his plan to the Rev. Jacob Brodhead, of the Broome Street Reformed Church, who at once responded warmly to it,⁷ and associated other men in the enterprise. They had frequent interviews; on September 23, 1828, for example, Myndert Van Schaick, Eleazer Lord, Hugh Maxwell, the Rev. Samuel H. Cox, and the Rev. Mr. Brodhead met to discuss the proposed university.⁸ No formal record of these or similar meetings exists, however, until one of December 16, 1829. Before this latter date, in any case, the plans had been made public; for on December 2, 1829, an editorial in the *New York American*, referring to that journal's publication of extracts from Dwight's *Travels in the North of Germany*, remarks that it is to be hoped that this informa-

⁶ At the Athenaeum, in 1826, Samuel F. B. Morse lectured on painting, and the Rev. J. M. Mathews gave the Anniversary Discourse. Cf. M. J. Lamb: *History of New York City*, vol. 2, p. 710.

⁷ This information is based upon the statement of the Rev. G. W. Bethune, in his *Memorial of the Rev. Jacob Brodhead*, New York, 1855, p. 51. It is confirmed by a statement in the *Professors' History of the Controversy*, 1838, p. 1, which says "If the conception of the University came from one man, it was the late Rev. Dr. Gunn"; but the object of this latter pamphlet was to belittle Dr. Mathews' part. Chancellor Ferris, in his *Address delivered at the Opening of the Law Department, on Oct. 25, 1858*, (New York, 31 pp. Published by the Council of the University, 1858), also attributes the first idea of founding a University to Dr. Gunn; but it is not clear to me that Dr. Ferris had any direct personal knowledge of the early history of the University.

⁸ Bethune: *Memorial of the Rev. Jacob Brodhead*, p. 51.

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tion about Berlin and Göttingen will stir up the movement for a university in New York.

Under such auspices a meeting of men interested in the foundation of a university occurred on December 16, 1829.⁹ It was the first occasion of which a record was kept; and it was attended by the Rev. J. M. Mathews, the Rev. J. M. Wainwright, Dr. J. Augustine Smith, Dr. Valentine Mott, John Delafield, Hugh Maxwell, Isaac S. Hone, and Mynrdert Van Schaick. The intimate connection of most of these gentlemen with the later history of New York University suggests the propriety of a brief mention of each. The Rev. James M. Mathews, soon to be elected the first chancellor of the University, was an alumnus of Union College (A.B. 1803), and at this moment pastor of the South Dutch Reformed Church. His second wife was Ann, daughter of John Hone, Mayor Philip Hone's brother. The Rev. J. M. Wainwright was the grandson of the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, and an alumnus of Harvard (A.B. 1812). In 1829 he was rector of Grace Church, and in 1852 was to be chosen Protestant Episcopal bishop of New York. Mr. Wainwright was a member of the Literary Club, which met periodically at the houses of its members, which included Chancellor Kent, Albert Gallatin, and the professors of Columbia College. Dr. John Augustine Smith was a Virginian by birth, an alumnus of William and Mary (A.B. 1780); he had been president of William and Mary from 1814 to 1826, but had since then been professor of surgery at the College of Physicians and Surgeons. Valentine Mott, of Quaker stock, born on Long Island, was a graduate of the Columbia Medical School in the Class of 1806. He had studied in London and Edinburgh, and was probably the leading surgeon of New York in 1830. Hugh Maxwell was born in Scotland, was an alumnus of Columbia (A.B.

⁹ Held at the invitation and at the house of the Rev. J. M. Mathews, if his own *Recollections*, published in 1865, may be trusted.

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1808), had been federal district attorney from 1816 to 1818, and since 1819 was district attorney in New York City. John Delafield (A.B. Columbia, 1802) was of a distinguished and wealthy banking family, and was in 1829 cashier of the Phenix Bank; he had for some time displayed great zeal in promoting the interests of the New York Historical Society.¹⁰ After the crisis of 1837, which wrecked his fortune, he was to become an expert farmer, and president of the New York State Agricultural College. Joseph Delafield, his brother, was an alumnus of Yale (A.B. 1808), the owner of Fieldston, a noted mineralogist, and, in 1829, president of the Lyceum of Natural History. Isaac S. Hone was another brother of Mayor Philip Hone, and apparently in 1829 managing the business from which Philip Hone had recently retired.¹¹ Myndert Van Schaick, his partner, had married another daughter of John Hone; he was afterward to be New York University's staunchest supporter in times of adversity. The nine founders of the University, therefore, comprised two clergymen, one banker, one lawyer, two merchants, two physicians, and one man of leisure devoted to science. John Delafield acted as secretary. In his words, "it seemed to be unanimously conceded that a university on a liberal and extensive scale was greatly wanted and desired, and it was believed that public sentiment and patronage would aid in building up so great an object." The meeting agreed, moreover, that the "literary and scientific institutions" of New York should be invited to send delegates to a later meeting, to discuss the desirability of the project. At the next meeting, on December 23, 1829, it was learned that the Athenaeum, the Historical Society, and the Lyceum of Natural History had each appointed three delegates for such a discussion; it is conspic-

¹⁰ *The Diary of Philip Hone*; ed. Bayard Tuckerman, 2 v., New York, 1889, vol. 1, p. 6.

¹¹ *The Diary of Philip Hone*; ed. Allan Nevins, 2 v., New York, 1927, vol. 1, p. ix.

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uous, however, that John Delafield was one of the delegates from both the Athenaeum and the Historical Society, and Joseph Delafield from the Lyceum. A week later, on December 30, 1829, the meeting, hitherto informal, was organized: Dr. Mathews became chairman, and John Delafield was appointed secretary. It was then agreed that thirty-eight citizens of New York, selected by the members present, should be invited to meet with the founders and the delegates from the literary institutions, at the rooms of the Historical Society, on January 6, 1830, at seven o'clock in the evening. Such invitations were printed and delivered on January 4, 1830.

The public meeting took place, as planned, on January 6, 1830. How many of the citizens and delegates who were invited attended, is not known. John Delafield reports that the "meeting was well attended." At least one gentleman, General Morgan Lewis, appeared who was not on the invited list; and he was so welcome that he was made chairman of the meeting. No citizen of New York could have given more encouragement and prestige by his presence. Son of a signer of the Declaration of Independence, born in 1754, graduated at Princeton in 1773, he had studied law with John Jay, and had been a colonel on Gates' staff in the Burgoyne campaign; after the war, he had been chief justice of the State of New York, governor in 1804-07, and a quartermaster-general in the War of 1812. His zeal for the advancement of education had long been keen; and his interest in the new University augured well for its reputation. Hugh Maxwell was appointed secretary. To the meeting was read by Dr. Wainwright a long communication upon the "Expediency and Means of Establishing a University in the City of New York." By vote of the meeting the report was printed and distributed to the public a few days later. It is unfortunate that the authorship of this, the first printed source of the history of New York Uni-

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versity, cannot be positively identified. In view of later developments, the conjecture is plausible that Dr. Mathews was *not* the author; the suggestion in the report that the buildings of the future university should be commodious and *plain* is scarcely in accord with the first chancellor's ideas. It is altogether probable, I believe, that Dr. Wainwright, who read the communication, was its author.

To present the report in detail would be tedious. It is redolent of the "spirit of the age." It is an axiom universally assented to, the author states, that the diffusion of knowledge among the people is essential to the purity and stability of a republican form of government. Much encouragement is being given in New York to the development of common schools; but higher schools, colleges, and universities are neglected. Columbia College, for which the pamphlet disclaims the slightest hostility, prepares young men exclusively for the learned professions. Columbia has another feature which might militate against its being the University of the City of New York: its president must of necessity be selected from one denomination. There is a great need in New York for an institution where young men may be trained who plan to become merchants, mechanics, farmers, manufacturers, architects, or civil engineers. Such youths cannot enter the colleges of to-day; for they must be prepared in Latin and Greek for entrance, and must devote a large part of their time in college to pursuits which will be of no essential service to them. They have little or no time for such *useful* subjects as Modern Languages, History, Political Economy, or Natural Science. The author of the pamphlet expresses a great veneration for the Classics; but it is easy to see that his veneration is tinged with contempt for their lack of utility. London University has been, the author states, very successful in these new fields; and, if in London they calculate that five thousand young men a year desire a useful education in practical

THE FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY

subjects, there is no doubt that New York City will provide from eight hundred to a thousand. From South America many eager students may be expected. Fears have been expressed that the temptations of a great city will be disastrous for students; the author feels, on the contrary, that young men's morals can be safeguarded as easily in the city as in the country, and that their education will proceed the faster in the city. "Seclusion may be the nurse of poetry and the parent of romance, but not so of literature and true philosophy." There is no doubt that New York needs a university; there is every reason to believe that the means will be easily provided. An excellent location is at hand in the former Alms House in the rear of City Hall. At small expense it could be rearranged to provide not merely room for the University, but accommodations for the Lyceum, the Historical Society, the Athenaeum, and the Academies of Arts and Design; so that laboratory and library facilities would be close at hand. It is possible that the City will grant us the Alms House in return for free scholarships for a certain number of poor but deserving young men. "Let us then begin. The enterprise is honourable in its commencement, and would be beneficial in its successful accomplishment." Such were the benevolent expectations of the founders of the University.

The meeting then resolved, in Dr. Mathews' exuberant vocabulary, that it was "highly desirable and expedient to establish in the City of New York a university on a liberal foundation, which shall correspond with the spirit and wants of our age and country, which shall be commensurate with our great and growing population, and which shall enlarge the opportunities of education for such of our youth as shall be found qualified and inclined to improve them." Committees were appointed to apply to the legislature for a charter, to apply to the City for the use of the former Alms House, to prepare a plan of instruction, and to confer with

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the trustees of Columbia with regard to an amalgamation. In conclusion the meeting approved the creation of a Standing Committee of nine on the general affairs of the University, with Morgan Lewis as chairman, and John Delafield as secretary; and Dr. Wainwright, Myndert Van Schaick, and John Delafield were especially charged with the solicitation of subscriptions.

It is clear that some at least of the founders of the new university hoped that it would be possible to include Columbia College in the new organization. Dr. Wainwright and Dr. Mathews were both trustees of Columbia. Charles King, another of the trustees (and later, in 1849, elected president of Columbia), was in 1830 editor of the *New York American*; his editorials at this time defend Columbia from the charge of sectarianism, but are not hostile to the new University. The majority of the Columbia trustees, however, preferred independence to amalgamation; and the first clear result of the meeting of January 6, 1830 was, it is interesting to note, visible in the affairs of Columbia. On January 16, 1830, the trustees of that College announced great changes in their institution. The "full classical course," their pride, was to be kept for the bachelor's degree. But a new "scientific and literary course," to include a great diversity of non-classical subjects, was to be afforded "on a broad and liberal basis"; and the professors were to give (or, rather might give, if they were willing) public lectures. At once Charles King, in the *New York American*, advises his readers "to pause before giving money to the new institution." The committee on conference with the Columbia trustees reported on February 8, 1830, that, after a meeting with the trustees nothing transpired which could lead to a belief that there was any prospect of bringing the University and the College into one institution. The committee hoped that two institutions might "proceed with mutual good will and honorable emulation in promoting

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the common cause of education and literature"; but their relations were to be those of rivalry, not of coöperation. Similarly vain were the attempts to secure from the City the use of the former Alms House.

Messrs. Wainwright, Van Schaick, and John Delafield had been charged with the soliciting of subscriptions, which, in the enthusiasm of the moment, may not have appeared a difficult task. Myndert Van Schaick opened the campaign with a subscription of \$2,500, made on January 28, 1830, and thus became the first benefactor of New York University. The solicitors seem at once to have met with the not unnatural response that men were reluctant to contribute to an undertaking for which no definite plans of arrangement had been made. They accordingly presented on January 14 to the Standing Committee an outline of the scope and organization of the University, which was approved and published in the newspapers. Three features were stressed: all offices in the University were to be open to persons of all religious denominations; instruction was to be given in all departments of science and literature; and the professors were to depend chiefly upon fees collected from their students, so that "an important stimulus will be given to constant improvement and attention to duty." The last feature had been for some weeks discussed in the New York newspapers, and had been explained as one of the best features of German universities. Of particular interest to-day, however, is the explanation that the University is to be organized as a joint-stock corporation; shares are to be purchased by contributions of twenty-five dollars each, and the shareholders are to elect a board of thirty-two members, to control the institution, and to be re-elected, a fourth each year, by the shareholders. A university begun and maintained on a joint-stock plan is a curiosity to-day; but the new London University had been organized on just such a plan in 1827, and a high school had been similarly estab-

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lished in New York in 1825. The shareholders in the University were not, of course, to expect a profit; the outline specifically stated that any hypothetical surplus would be used to enlarge the library and laboratory facilities.

With these proposals at their disposition, the committee on subscriptions began their painful work, while another committee wrestled with a proposed plan of studies. On January 25, 1830, it was agreed that the subscriptions must be completed by August 1, 1830, and that the total amount subscribed must be at least \$100,000. Subscriptions were to be paid, two-fifths within a month of the day when \$100,000 had been pledged, two-fifths three months thereafter, and the last fifth at the end of another three months. No subscriptions would be binding if the amount of \$100,000 were not pledged before August 1, 1830.

The story of how the subscription was raised is tortuous and obscure. It is evident that the committee met with religious difficulties at once. Some prospective subscribers expressed fears of too much ecclesiastical interference. A letter in the *American* on January 30, 1830, for example, commenting upon the charges of sectarianism brought against Columbia College, gives the advice that the citizens of New York should take care not to "throw themselves into the arms of a sect much less liberal than that which controls Columbia College." More protests, however, seem to have come from persons who feared that the University would not be religious enough. On January 25, 1830, at any rate, the Standing Committee requested nine of its members, of whom all but one, Valentine Mott (a Quaker) were clergymen, to present a plan for lectures on the Evidences of the Christian Religion; and two days later their report was accepted. A preliminary outline of organization, published in the newspapers of the city on January 15, was enlarged by the statement that, although the University, in order to avoid the sectarian influence, should distinctly not organize

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a faculty of theology, it should as positively not proscribe the all important object of education, which is religion. From time to time, therefore, the University should designate religious teachers of different denominations to give instruction in practical religion and in the evidences of Christianity; no student should, however, be compelled to receive such instruction except at his parents' request. At the same time, the Standing Committee voted that no one religious denomination should at any time have a majority in the governing board.

With sectarian fears thus relieved, the Committee on Subscriptions returned to its task. At once, however, they were, it seems, met by the unpleasant request for information about the advantages, other than the satisfaction of uplifting society, which would accrue to subscribers. On February 1, 1830, therefore, the Standing Committee voted, with perhaps no apprehension of future trouble, that each person who subscribed \$1,000 might found and name a free scholarship for the term of his life; a subscriber to the amount of \$1,500 might control a free scholarship in perpetuity; and a subscriber to the amount of \$10,000 might found and name a professorship, and control the appointment during his life. Even then, it is to be feared, the subscribers were still reluctant; for a week later, it was decided that those who wished to subscribe \$1,000 might delay their payments over a ten-year period. On February 15, 1830, it was reported that only \$27,300 had been subscribed. The standing committee then decided to press the campaign, and gave to each of eleven members a subscription book.¹² with orders to report twice a week to the secretary. On February 22, only \$33,000 had been pledged; and the large standing committee, of whom about thirty had been meeting at least once a week for nearly two months, decided to entrust the

¹² One of these, probably Dr. Wainwright's, is now in the Library at University Heights.

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affairs of the University to a smaller executive committee, of eleven members, with Morgan Lewis as chairman. After March 1, the Standing Committee, therefore, did not meet until July 29, 1830. On that day, the Standing Committee met again, and received from Mr. John Delafield the welcome news that "more than one hundred thousand dollars have been subscribed or secured to the objects of the Institution." The shareholders were, therefore, invited to meet at the rooms of the Historical Society on July 31, to take measures for the nomination of members of the first Council of the University.

It is evident that the executive committee had experienced great difficulty in securing the subscriptions. Its minutes show that at the end of March only \$39,000 had been pledged.¹³ On March 23, with some reluctance, it appears, the committee voted to the collectors a five percent commission on subscriptions received and paid. Then there is a silence of four months until on July 19 the Committee on Subscriptions reported that pledges for over \$100,000 had been received. What is not so evident is the manner in which the subscription was completed. There can be but little doubt that Dr. Mathews, the chairman of the Committee on Subscriptions, was most anxious that the proposed university should come into being, and that he expected to become its head. He could scarcely permit the failure of the subscription. In the one subscription book that has apparently survived, pledges for only \$53,125 are recorded; and these pledges account for nearly all the names of the shareholders certified by the secretary for the election of

¹³ An interesting example of the failure of the committee to secure subscriptions from anticipated sources is provided in the minutes of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen. At the meeting of that Society held on February 3, 1830, Thomas R. Mercein moved that \$1,000 be subscribed towards a scholarship in the new university. After spending the entire evening of April 6 upon the merits of Mr. Mercein's suggestion, the Society refused to make the appropriation. The record of the debate is unfortunately lost. (My thanks are due to Mr. James Boyd, of the class of 1882, for calling my attention to this information.)

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October 13, 1830. There is good ground for believing that the other subscription books showed the same amounts only.¹⁴ On December 4, 1832, when the first treasurer, Samuel Ward, resigned, only \$42,200 had been collected. What happened to the other subscriptions? As early as December 2, 1830, a "Subscriber," writing to the *New York Evening Post*, declared that about \$40,000 of the \$100,000 consisted of "prospective scholarships" only. In September, 1833, the finance committee discovered that at least fourteen clergymen were supposed to have pledged \$1,500 each; the pledges had not been paid, and the clergymen concerned in most cases reported that they had never pledged themselves to any amount at all. To all inquiries, Dr. Mathews replied that the subscription lists were all, unfortunately, lost. All of these curious circumstances give a certain verisimilitude to the charge made by Robert Kelly, a member of the Council from 1835 to 1839,¹⁵ that Dr. Mathews, because the sum required could not be raised, padded the list with spurious subscriptions, and made inevitable the scandalous quarrels of 1838. In July, 1830, however, the presumption is that the rest of the Executive Committee were ignorant of Dr. Mathews' misguided enthusiasm.

Twenty of the shareholders appeared at the meeting called for July 31, 1830. Dr. Mathews told them that the control of the University rested now in their hands. They created a committee to nominate members of the Council, and ruled that the election should be held early in September. Meanwhile, they requested the existing Executive Committee to continue its function.

The nominating committee, under the chairmanship of Henry I. Wyckoff, did not begin its work until the autumn.

¹⁴ Letter of Robert Kelly, member of the Council, to Professor Proudfit, April 26, 1839; in University archives.

¹⁵ Later a trustee of Rochester and of Colgate universities, and city chamberlain of New York.

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It met very frequently in September, 1830, and with great assiduity examined the list of fifty-three subscribers. Its deliberations were complicated by the apparent unwillingness of many subscribers to sit on the Council, and, still more, by the necessity of guarding against a sectarian majority. With great care, it would appear, the committee examined the credentials of the candidates and, with perhaps greater care, noted their religious connections. On September 8, 1830, it is worthy of note, there appears on the list of possible nominees the name of Albert Gallatin. Who first interested Mr. Gallatin in the new university, it is apparently impossible to say. He was, it is clear, a late arrival among the subscribers; on the list of subscribers printed for the election of October 13, 1830, his name is added in manuscript. At last, on October 8, the nominating committee completed its labors, and presented a slate of thirty-two shareholders, the mayor, and four members of the Common Council. It may be of a certain interest to note that of the thirty-two, twelve were classed as Episcopalian, seven as Dutch Reformed, eight as Presbyterian, one each as Baptist, Methodist, and Quaker; two were unclassified. It was ordered that the election should be held on October 13, 1830. It is to be feared that some passions other than educational had been aroused in the sessions of the committee. It is difficult otherwise to interpret the last words of their minutes. "The labors of the committee having been brought to a close, after the most free and undisguised interchange of opinions, it may in truth be said that all were guided by pure motives and kind feelings. We may reasonably hope that the good intended may be more than realised, and the difficulties apprehended may never appear."

One hundred and seventy-five subscribers were certified by John Delafield as shareholders. Each had a vote for each one hundred dollars subscribed. As the largest number

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of votes received by any candidate at the election was 543, it is probable that subscribers to the amount of \$54,300 only were present at the election. The list of nominees as presented by the committee was approved; and the first Council of New York University was, therefore, organized on October 15, 1830. At its first meeting, on October 18, 1830, Albert Gallatin was elected first chairman of the Council.

CHAPTER II

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNIVERSITY

THREE principal lines of activity seemed incumbent upon the newly elected Council: the securing of a charter of incorporation from the State; the formulation of plans for the organization of instruction; and the achievement of the intended coöperation with such institutions as the Athenaeum and the Lyceum of Natural History. Of these three steps, the second was both the most complicated and the most interesting. The subscribers naturally hoped for speedy and visible results from their generosity. Intentions of creating a university on a "liberal and extensive foundation" had been easy enough to express; the execution was more difficult. Before the election of the Council, the leading spirits among the subscribers had thought much about the plans for instruction; and there had occurred to them the admirable idea of getting the best advice available in America by inviting to New York the most eminent teachers and scientists of the United States for a public discussion of educational problems. Perhaps the idea originated with Dr. Mathews; in any case, he was the first to give expression to it at a meeting of the Standing Committee in August, 1830. Messrs. Mathews, Wainwright, and John Delafield undertook the agreeable duty of carrying out the plan; and on September 25, 1830, invitations were sent to fifty-two heads of colleges, professors, scientists, and other men of distinction. It was especially noted in the invitation that several American scholars who had studied in European universities had agreed to be pres-

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ent, in order to give the results of their observations abroad. The City of New York offered the use of the Common Council Chamber for the convention. It is hardly necessary to say that such a meeting was a distinctly novel thing in the United States, and, in its way, was to be a landmark in the history of American education.

The convention opened at the City Hall on October 20, 1830. Some of the more distinguished gentlemen invited, such as Judge Story, Edward Everett, President Nott of Union, and Daniel Webster, had been unable to accept the invitation; but the list of guests of the University who did appear was impressive enough. About fifty men, together with the newly elected members of the Council, appeared. Among them, the names of Edward Livingston of New Orleans, soon to become Jackson's Secretary of State, Albert Gallatin, S. R. Betts, judge of the Federal District Court in New York City, Professors Hodge and Patton of Princeton, Silliman and Henry E. Dwight of Yale, Theodore Dwight Woolsey, later President of Yale, Thomas H. Gallaudet, Francis Lieber, and Jared Sparks were the most distinguished. Dr. Mathews welcomed them in behalf of the new University, the aims of which he ably expounded; and John Delafield suggested certain topics for discussion: the ways in which the examples of European universities should be followed in the United States; the importance of extensive libraries; the advantages and disadvantages of lectures or recitations in teaching; the importance of introducing instruction in English Literature and Government, etc.

The first prepared speech was that of Professor Vethake¹ of Princeton, read in his absence by Dr. Wainwright. He advocated what he called an open university system, by which he meant the abolition of a rigid curriculum and of the division of students into four classes. In its place, he

¹ Soon to be appointed to the faculty of New York University.

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would introduce what the next generation was to call the elective system. He was, of course, compelled to defend himself from the accusation of thus attacking the sanctity of the Classics; he professed a deep veneration for them, but his defense was visibly half-hearted. He would abolish the A.B. degree, and would substitute the baccalaureate in literature for those graduates who had included the Classics in their studies, and the baccalaureate in science for those who had made a certain progress in some of the sciences. He proposed the introduction of something like the modern tutorial method of instruction, and the general examination for the degree. All in all, Mr. Vethake's proposals, revolutionary enough in 1830, have a remarkably modern sound in 1932.

Dr. Mathews next read a letter from George Bancroft, then in Northampton, which eloquently presented the necessity of creating in America a true university, founded upon the ideals of the German system. The ablest exposition of the German universities, however, was made, not by Bancroft, but by Francis Lieber of Boston. He apparently resented the opinion, commonly expressed in the New York newspapers, that the best feature of German universities was the stimulation of the professors by the competition among them for the fees paid by students. He agreed that the system of *privat-docenten* was a good method of selecting professors; but insisted that the regular professors must be paid satisfactory salaries. In those branches of learning to which Germany owed its greatest fame—Theology, Philology, Pure Science—the love of gain could have little influence. Lieber particularly opposed the opinion of the Scotch utilitarians that only useful, or professional subjects, should be taught, and that such subjects would naturally pay for themselves. He felt that it is the very function of a university to provide for branches of learning which are not immediately useful. He especially

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recommended the establishment of instruction in History, Astronomy, and German Literature.

Theodore Woolsey next gave an excellent account of the organization and methods of French *lycées* and universities; but contented himself with this analysis, and made no effort to apply it to America. Silliman and Sparks closed the first day's session by describing the government of Yale and of Harvard.

The next day, October 21, was spent in a more informal discussion of the topics formally presented at the first session. The chief interest in the discussion lies in the suggestions frequently made that the new University should encourage what would to-day be called graduate instruction. The lack of meaning in the United States of the master's degree, and the total absence of the doctorate, except as an honorary degree, were mentioned. Henry E. Dwight made an eloquent appeal for such graduate instruction, especially in the Classics.

On the next morning, the convention turned to the interesting subject of discipline. A rather warm debate arose between advocates of the good old-fashioned system, of the "parental system," and of no discipline at all. But, "other gentlemen appearing desirous to address the meeting on the subject under discussion, by consent the motion was laid on the table," and it is to be feared that the Council was left in doubt as to the best system for New York University.

In the afternoon the convention heard from Albert Gallatin. He made the surprising admission that, "although recently elected to the Council of the University, he had not yet had the opportunity of ascertaining the particular opinions of the friends of the institution," and that the views expressed were his own. The new university had, he believed, two aspirations: to elevate the standard of learning, on the one hand, and, on the other, to render knowledge more accessible to the community at large. He did

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not believe that New York was in immediate need of better instruction in medicine or law; and the University was surely not to teach theology. The first attention of the new university, therefore, should be confined to the faculties of science and letters. Mr. Gallatin then added that he apprehended no difficulties of discipline in a university which should admit principally graduates of colleges, or men of the same age. He clearly imagined that the University, over the Council of which he was soon to preside, was to be a graduate school! The second aspiration of the University, the popularizing of knowledge, was, he felt, to be best advanced by offering instruction for young men, who did not look forward to a profession, in what Gallatin chose to call an "English college"; by which he meant, he explained, one in which a knowledge of Greek and Latin should not be required.² How surprised Gallatin would have been if he could at that moment have seen New York University as it was in 1850! He manifestly struck a sympathetic note in his audience in 1830, however; for Gallaudet at once approved of his plan for an "English college." The debate again became impassioned, and the chairman was obliged to announce the arrival of the hour for final adjournment.

If the Council had hoped for a clear-cut agreement in the convention upon the functions and curriculum of the new university, it was disappointed. It may be presumed, however, that no such hope existed. The convention adjourned with the apparent expectation of meeting at an early date

² The clearest account that I have found of Gallatin's object in associating himself with the University is in a letter which he wrote on December 9, 1830, to Josiah Quincy, at that time president of Harvard. Mr. Quincy had apparently complained of what he considered a slighting reference to Harvard made by Gallatin at the convention. In his reply Gallatin said: "My only object is what it professes to be, that of extending and improving English or popular education, so as to diffuse more widely than is done at present, among all those who are not destined for liberal professions, some share of elementary mathematical, natural, and historical knowledge, as well as that of their own language and literature." *Writings of Albert Gallatin*, ed. Henry Adams, Philadelphia, 3 v., 1879. In Appendix B, *infra*, this letter is quoted at greater length.

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again;³ and it is fortunate that John Delafield was interested enough in what had occurred to have the journal of the convention printed. One may be permitted to wonder what real impression had been made upon the mind of Dr. Mathews. In his *Recollections*, he states that the debates at the convention "were subsequently acknowledged to be of valuable service to the University"; it is difficult to trace much influence upon Chancellor Mathews' administration. It will be admitted, however, that if he had attempted to reconcile all the ideas expressed at the convention, the task would have been severe indeed.

After the convention the work of organization proceeded apace. Dr. Wainwright's committee, of which Mathews and Gallatin were members, made weekly reports to the Council. By November 26, 1830, the main lines had been laid. The name selected for the institution was the University of the City of New York. The supreme control was, of course, to remain in the Council elected by the shareholders, with a President as chairman. As their executive officer, however, the Council was to elect a Chancellor, for a term of four years, but re-eligible. The finances were to be controlled by a Committee on Finance, and a Treasurer; to the latter office, Samuel Ward was elected on December 3, 1830. For another two months, however, debate continued on the final form of the statutes. At last on January 31, 1831, they were adopted; and the Council proceeded to the first election of officers. For the presidency of the Council, both Gallatin and Morgan Lewis were nominated. General Lewis stated that his business engagements would not permit his acceptance of the office, and Gallatin was unani-

³ There exists in the University Library a printed invitation to a second educational convention, to be held on October 25, 1831; and also a report, in manuscript, of the committee appointed at the first Convention, on the "Expediency and Advantages of Establishing Professorships of History in our Universities," of which Jared Sparks was chairman. This report was clearly intended to be presented to the second Convention.

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mously elected. Morgan Lewis thereupon received the office of Vice-president, and John Delafield that of Secretary. For Chancellor, three clergymen were nominated, Messrs. Mathews, Wainwright, and Milnor. Both the latter asked to have their names withdrawn, and Dr. Mathews was elected first Chancellor.

On this same day, the Council approved a long memorial to the legislature of New York State, prepared by Albert Gallatin, Judge Betts, and James Tallmadge, praying for incorporation, and defining the purpose of the University. The gentlemen at Albany now had the opportunity of pondering upon the lack of utility in existing collegiate instruction, and the sad plight of the merchant, mechanic, or farmer who wished his son to get an education which would prepare him for practical business. The University of the City of New York proposed to fill the need. To be sure, it would offer instruction in classical fields as well. In fact, the University proposed to "maintain two distinct departments: one for elementary and practical education in the classics, in literature, and the sciences; the other partaking of the character of a university course as on the Continent of Europe." Moreover, there was a great need for improvement in medical education in New York City; and, finally, a specific intention was promised on the part of the University, if incorporated, of establishing a course of instruction in methods of teaching, for teachers in the common schools.

The style and contents of the memorial are not of the best; it is difficult to recognize in it the mind of Albert Gallatin at work. It is regrettable that the authorship cannot be more precisely ascribed. But, in any case, it had its desired effect. On April 21, 1831, an act incorporating the University of the City of New York was passed by the legislature of the State and signed by Governor Throop. The work of corporate organization was complete; and the Council could now direct its attention to choosing a fac-

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ulty and location commensurate with the means available.

Unfortunately, the means were ludicrously small in relation to the great expectations. Of the \$101,250 which had supposedly been pledged, only \$30,455 had been paid on May 24, 1831; and, we must add, only \$42,200 was paid at the end of 1832.⁴ Something can be said in defense of the policy of putting on a bold front, which apparently appealed to a majority of the Council. But the thought of simultaneously engaging a large faculty and erecting an imposing building must have staggered the more conservative element. The statutes recently adopted called for professors in the following branches: Evidences of Revealed Religion; Philosophy; Education; Classics; English; Modern Languages; Geography; History; Political Economy; Mathematics; Physics; Natural History; Applied Sciences; Law; Medicine; and Fine Arts.⁵ The original idea of obtaining quarters at small expense by favor of the City had perforce been abandoned. But the Council still expected to provide accommodations for at least the Lyceum of Natural History; and as early as October 12, 1831, they were already discussing the purchase of a lot on the east side of Broadway, between Prince and Spring Streets, at the cost of \$50,000. Indeed, the Council decided on that same day to close the purchase. Can this decision, so disproportionate to the means available, have been the immediate reason for Albert Gallatin's resignation? On October 22, 1831, he presented to John Delafield his resignation as president and member of the Council; giving as his reason the state of his health. His health was, apparently, excellent for his age, and he was not a man easily tired by new undertakings. His remarkable work in American ethnology during the next fifteen years was sufficient proof that his talents had not failed.

⁴ The finances of the early years are hopelessly muddled; the latter figure, for December 4, 1832, is obtained from a report made in September, 1838.

⁵ "as the resources of the Institution may permit and the public good may require," was judiciously added.

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Writing a generation later, Chancellor Mathews says that "Mr. Gallatin, with the habitual caution of the man, was not so certain" as was Dr. Wainwright of the ability to raise enough funds to provide for the University; and the fact that his resignation followed so speedily upon the decision to put even more than the Council had collected into real estate, makes Dr. Mathews' suggestion plausible. Gallatin himself, writing fourteen months after his resignation to his friend John Badollet, says: "I had another favorite object in view, in which I have failed. My wish was to devote what may remain of life to the establishment in this . . . city, of a general system of rational and practical education, fitted for all and gratuitously open to all. For it appeared to me impossible to preserve our democratic institutions . . . unless we could raise the standard of general education and the mind of the laboring classes nearer to a level with those born under more favorable circumstances. I became accordingly the president of the council of a new university, originally established on the most liberal principles. But finding that the object was no longer the same, that a certain portion of the clergy had obtained the control, and that their object, though laudable, was quite distinct from mine, I resigned at the end of one year rather than to struggle, probably in vain, for what was nearly unattainable."⁶ The date of this letter, February 7, 1833, is near enough to the event to merit consideration; but there is nothing preserved in the records of the Council before his retirement to suggest that the clergy had more control, or that "rational and practical education" was less an objective of the University, in November, 1831, than in October, 1830, when Gallatin had joined the movement. His resignation was something of a tragedy. A little of his "habitual caution" might have avoided the unseemly quarrels of 1838. On November 10, 1831, the Council elected Morgan

⁶ Henry Adams: *Life of Albert Gallatin*, 1879, p. 648.

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Lewis as president, and James Tallmadge as vice-president; at the same meeting it was reported that the title to the Broadway property was not clear, and that its purchase had been abandoned. In December, however, the Council was prepared to pay \$46,000 for a lot between Mercer and Green Streets.

Another interesting coincidence connected with the resignation of Albert Gallatin lies in the fact that within two weeks of his retirement, the Council embarked, as its first venture in education, upon a series of public lectures which might not have been entirely in agreement with his desire for "rational and practical education" for the laboring classes. On November 10, 1831, the Council appointed five gentlemen, upon temporary appointment and without compensation, to give lectures during the winter under the auspices of the University. The reasons are not clear for the failure of Francis Lieber, Henry Vethake, and Edward Robinson to fulfill their appointments. Two clergymen, however, accepted: the Rev. Samuel H. Cox, who gave a few lectures in the field of Philosophy, and the Rev. Charles Pettit McIlvaine, who was at the moment rector of St. Ann's Episcopal Church in Brooklyn, and was chosen bishop of Ohio during the course of his lectureship. Having been appointed Lecturer on the Evidences of Christianity at New York University, he learned, in his own words,⁷ "that meanwhile a class of many hundreds, from among the most intelligent in the community, and composed, to a considerable extent, of members of the 'New York Young Men's Society for Intellectual and Moral Improvement,' had been formed, and was waiting the commencement of the course. A more interesting, important, or attentive assemblage of mind and character, no one need wish to address." In ten lectures he

⁷ Charles P. McIlvaine: *The Evidences of Christianity in the external division, exhibited in a course of lectures delivered at Clinton Hall, in the winter of 1831-32, under the appointment of the University of the City of New York*, 565 pp., New York, 1832. The quotation is from p. ix of the preface.

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presented the evidences of the divine claims of the Christian religion, not from the standpoint of a Paley, but as based upon the sanctions of miracle and prophecy. General Tallmadge and Chancellor Mathews, appointed by the Council to be its board of visitors, reported with great enthusiasm that his lectures, "delivered before large and respectable classes," had resulted in a "complete fulfillment of the hopes entertained by the Council. If Dr. McIlvaine should consent to publish them, they would form a valuable addition to the library of the scholar and the Christian, and be of public utility." He consented; as published, the lectures are the first book to bear the name of a member of the faculty of New York University, and perhaps are by themselves a sufficient explanation to account for Gallatin's withdrawal.

In April, 1832, the Council received a definite report upon the beginning of regular instruction the following autumn. The committee, of which S. H. Cox was chairman, believed that it was possible to buy a plot of land, complete the building, then engage a faculty with the means at hand, supplemented by the anticipated fees received from students. Indeed, the sanguine hope was expressed that there would be a surplus of \$1,350 a year! From the capital already subscribed, \$5,000 could be used to buy "philosophical apparatus"; the library of the Lyceum of Natural History would be available in the same building, and probably the library of the Historical Society also. Until a building was erected, \$1,000 a year could be used for temporary accommodation. Seven professors could be engaged for \$9,250; and six more could be found to teach in return for their fees only. As the committee reported that some subscribers were waiting for the beginning of instruction to complete the payment of their subscriptions, the Council may have felt an added stimulus to activity. In any case, the Council decided, on June 5, 1832, to open for instruc-

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNIVERSITY

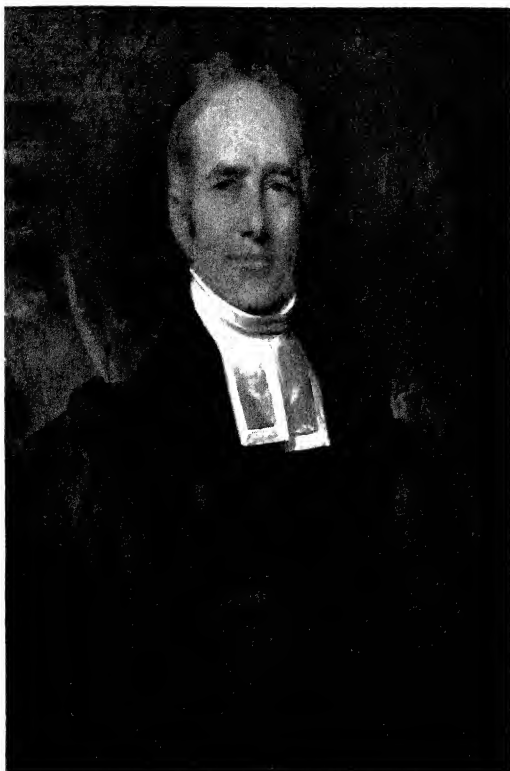
tion in October, to charge \$80 for tuition in the classical course,⁸ and to proceed to the appointment of a faculty. On July 5, 1832, five professors were elected: Bishop McIlvaine, professor of the Evidences of Revealed Religion, and T. H. Gallaudet, professor of the Philosophy of Education, both without stated salary; Henry Vethake, professor of Mathematics and Astronomy, at a salary of \$2,000; David B. Douglass, professor of Natural Philosophy and Civil Engineering, at a salary of \$1,500; and John Torrey, professor of Chemistry and Botany, at \$500. Other appointments were being considered; but an epidemic of cholera during the summer of 1832 interrupted the meetings of the Council. A small committee, headed by the Chancellor, was authorized to make provisional appointment; and, after the inaugural exercises, on October 2, 1832, the Council confirmed the action of this committee, and elected John Mulligan professor of Greek and Latin, at a salary of \$1,500, and Henry P. Tappan, professor of Philosophy and Belles-Lettres, at a salary of \$1,250. At the same time, seven other professors were appointed without stated salary, six of them to give instruction in foreign languages; the seventh was Samuel F. B. Morse, appointed to the Chair of Sculpture and Painting. The nine professors who had been thus appointed without salary were, of course, to receive their compensation, if at all, in the form of fees.

There remained only the question of temporary quarters. It seems never to have come before the Council officially. During the summer, apparently, a committee made the necessary arrangements. There had been built in 1828-30 at the corner of Beekman and Nassau Streets for the Mercantile Library a building known as Clinton Hall. Its main hall was already popular for public lectures. Here the

⁸ The committee recommended an annual tuition fee of \$90, to equal that paid at Columbia College, stating that New York University should not appear to underbid Columbia. Evidently the Council still agreed with the original intention of the founders, to provide cheaper education.

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new University engaged classrooms; and, it appears, the privileges of the Mercantile Library were opened to students and faculty. The results of three years' planning were now to be tested.



JAMES MELANCHTHON MATHEWS

First Chancellor

1831-1839

CHAPTER III

CHANCELLOR MATHEWS' ADMINISTRATION

1832-1839

THE inaugural ceremonies of New York University were held at Clinton Hall on September 26, 1832. Dr. James Milnor presided, and the newspapers reported that the Hall "was filled to overflowing with an audience of the first respectability." The addresses made by Dr. Milnor and Chancellor Mathews are preserved in Mathews' *Recollections*.¹ Milnor again explained that the University was designed both for "young men whose intended pursuits in life might be considered not to require the acquisition of classical learning," and for "such whose inclinations might lead to a . . . more exalted measure of attainments." He truthfully admitted that the subscription had been "rather commenced than completed"; but felt that the "impatience of the public mind" required the giving of instruction, even before a building was begun. He gloried in the fact that the University, although not sectarian, was to be under thoroughly Christian auspices. The Chancellor's address was distinctly rhetorical in elaboration, but vague in details. He emphasized the importance of the Classics, but at the same time explained that the "practical spirit of the age" required a particular devotion to Mathematical and Physical Science. He was convinced that a "smattering" of Physics led to infidelity; but that a thorough study of it, such as the University would provide,

¹ J. M. Mathews: *Recollections of Persons and Events*, New York, 1865, pp. 208-229.

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would confirm the truths of divine revelation. The day would soon come, he hoped, when the nation would view its institutions of higher learning as nurseries of its strength, and as its sanctuaries for preservation from evil.

From inaugural enthusiasms, the Council and faculty had now to return to realities. Entrance examinations were held on September 26 to 29. For admission to the "English and scientific course," the Council had determined that "an acquaintance with English Grammar, Geography, the Elements of History, Arithmetic, and Algebra through simple equations" would suffice. Students who wished to enter the "full Classical and Scientific course" must, in addition, be acquainted with Latin and Greek Grammar, and have read six books of Caesar, eight books of Virgil, six orations of Cicero, Sallust, the Greek New Testament, three books of Xenophon, and two books of the Iliad. In the first matriculation book,² names of one hundred and eight young men appear as matriculants in October, 1832. Which of these students entered for the "English course" and which for the "Classical course," is difficult to determine. At the first faculty meeting, held on October 2, 1832, it was tacitly assumed that the bachelor's degree would be given only to those who completed a four years' classical course,³ with no free electives. Of the one hundred and eight matriculants, only thirty-six later received a bachelor's degree. On the other hand, Chancellor Mathews reported to the Council on July 2, 1833, that during the past year "158 students had been received into the University," and that of these 158, 76 had been charged with the full tuition fee of \$80 (which was, it seems, charged for the "full classical course"

² Matriculation Book, 1832-1843, University College. In University archives, General Library. The list for 1832 is printed in E. G. Sihler: *History of New York University*, vol. 1, pp. 76-78, with four omissions.

³ The curriculum for the A.B. degree, approved on that day, was one of twenty courses: 4 in Latin, 4 in Greek, 3 in Mathematics, 2 in Belles-Lettres, 2 in Natural Philosophy, and 1 each in Philosophy, Chemistry, History and Geography, Evidences of Christianity, and the Bible.

CHANCELLOR MATHEWS

only). The rest, apparently more than half, presumably registered for a course or two in a modern language.

In the first faculty it is necessary to distinguish the ordinary from the extraordinary members. Seven, at least, of the professors appointed in the summer of 1832 were approximately what would be called to-day "extension lecturers": they received their payments from fees; they did not attend faculty meetings; and, apparently, they did not hold their classes in Clinton Hall. Of these seven, two deserve special mention.

Lorenzo L. DaPonte, professor of Italian from 1832 to his death in 1840, is chiefly memorable because of his father, Lorenzo DaPonte, who was at this time professor of Italian at Columbia College, and who in this very year was building the first Italian opera-house in the United States. The father's strange career—he was born a Jew in the Venetian ghetto, was converted to Christianity, became an *abbé*, and was finally banished from the Venetian republic for immorality—has been recently told by J. L. Russo.⁴ The younger DaPonte celebrated his appointment to the faculty of New York University by the publication early in 1833 of a *History of the Florentine Republic*, in two small volumes, composed in a Gibbonesque style, and of considerable merit. It was dedicated to Chancellor Mathews, and is the second book to bear the name of a member of the faculty of the new University on its title-page.

Another appointment similar to DaPonte's, confirmed by the Council on October 2, 1832, was that of Samuel F. B. Morse, as professor of Sculpture and Painting.⁵ Morse had been president of the newly organized National Academy of Design since its inception in 1826. He had, of course, achieved considerable renown as a portrait painter, and from

⁴ J. L. Russo: *Lorenzo DaPonte, Poet and Adventurer*, Columbia University Press, 1922.

⁵ Such was the title of his chair by Council action upon this date. It was later changed to that of the Literature of the Arts of Design.

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1826 to 1829 had won popularity in New York as a lecturer on art. Such were the reasons for the appointment to the faculty of the University of its most famous professor. But Morse had been in Europe since November, 1829; he sailed from Havre on the very day of his appointment by the Council; and it is difficult to determine whether he was conscious of his new academic status until he landed at the foot of Rector Street on November 15, 1832. At some time during the passage home, the new professor of Sculpture and Painting received in the course of a dinner-conversation with Dr. C. T. Jackson the information that led him to remark, "If the presence of electricity can be made visible in any part of the circuit, I see no reason why intelligence may not be transmitted instantaneously by electricity." Morse's mind was henceforth fixed upon other subjects than lectures on art at the University. During the first academic year he had no pupils at all; and his more intimate relationship with the University did not come until he went to live, three years later, at the new building in Washington Square.⁶

The members of the regular faculty were, therefore, Professors Torrey, Vethake, Mulligan, Tappan, and Douglass. I cannot find that Bishop McIlvaine ever took any part in instruction; and he resigned his appointment at the close of the first year. John Torrey, professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Botany, was a distinguished scholar. When in 1834 Francis Walker Gilmer searched England to find professors for the University of Virginia, he reported to Thomas Jefferson that John Torrey, then teaching Chemistry at West Point, was a better man to teach Natural History than anybody that could be found in England.⁷ His two volumes on the flora of the State of New York, published

⁶ E. L. Morse: *Samuel F. B. Morse, His Letters and Journals*, 2 v., Boston, 1914, *passim*. See also Appendix A, *infra*.

⁷ W. P. Trent: *English Culture in Virginia*, Johns Hopkins University Studies, 7th Series, 1889, p. 115.

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for the Geological Survey of the State, remain a classic; the Torrey Botanical Club perpetuates his name; and Asa Gray was his pupil. Henry Vethake, professor of Mathematics and Astronomy, was a graduate of Columbia, and had taught at Princeton, and recently at Dickinson College. He was later to be provost of the University of Pennsylvania. The Rev. John Mulligan, professor of Greek and Latin, was a native of northern Ireland, and recently principal of Union Hall Academy, a preparatory school in Jamaica, Long Island. Henry P. Tappan, professor of Philosophy and Belles-Lettres, was a young graduate of Union, later to become in 1852 the first chancellor of the University of Michigan. David B. Douglass, professor of Natural Philosophy, was a graduate of Yale, a former professor of Natural Philosophy at West Point, but in 1832 had for many years been practising Civil Engineering. He was afterwards to become president of Kenyon College.

In most respects the Council had made an excellent selection of teachers; and the hopes of the supporters of the University College were high. Professor Douglass, it is true, soon discovered that the students in Natural Philosophy were not very promising material. He reported to the faculty on March 25, 1833, that they have recently "spent six days upon the parallelogram of forces, and it is to be feared that their views upon that subject are neither permanent nor practical"; still, he admitted, "their difficulties arise not from obliquity nor inaptitude but from a total deficiency in the fundamentals of mathematics." Unfortunately, however, the rest of the faculty soon came to feel that, if the students of Professor Douglass were not guilty of obliquity or inaptitude, there was one person in authority who was guilty of both; and that person was the Chancellor.

The professors had, it seems, expected that Chancellor Mathews would content himself with the general super-

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vision of University interests, and also, it was to be hoped, with the increasing of the endowment; and that he would leave to them the internal economy of the College, its curriculum and discipline. If we may believe the professors,⁸ however, Dr. Mathews continually interfered with their attempts at discipline, in order, they suspected, not to alienate parents who might be prospective donors; and, in particular, wished for a public commencement at the end of one year's instruction, because of its advertising value! By the end of the first year, the relations between the Chancellor and the faculty were most unpleasant. Professor Douglass resigned his professorship on June 4, 1833;⁹ and, with the exception of Professor Tappan, the remaining members of the regular faculty were appealing to the Council for the dismissal of the Chancellor. The most active member of the Council at the time was James Tallmadge, the Vice-president; and General Tallmadge was a staunch supporter of the Chancellor. Professor Mulligan in the late summer of 1833 presented to Tallmadge the complaints of his colleagues: Chancellor Mathews, he said, was incapable of fulfilling his official duties, had usurped the rights of the faculty, and was guilty of gross and frequent prevarication. Tallmadge replied, if we may accept the faculty's version, that the "professors should be treated with severity and made to feel their own insignificance."¹⁰ Mr. Mulligan, in any case, soon understood the allusion; for on October 4, 1833, the Council voted to reduce his salary by a third. Professors Vethake and Torrey stood by him; the opening of the second academic year was enlivened by the

⁸ *An Exposition of the Reasons for the Resignation of Some of the Professors in the University of the City of New York*, 24 pp., New York, 1833.

⁹ He technically resigned the chair of Natural Philosophy only; he continued to bear the title of Professor of Civil Engineering until 1841. He is said to have given a course of lectures on Civil Engineering in the winter of 1836-37, after his retirement as Engineer of the Croton Aqueduct; but there is no other evidence of any continued connection with the University.

¹⁰ *Exposition*, p. 11.

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presentation to the Council of formal charges against the Chancellor. Although there seems to have been some minority opposition in the Council, General Tallmadge controlled the situation; and on November 9, 1833, Messrs. Vethake, Torrey, and Mulligan resigned their professorships. Their feelings were, it seems, extremely bitter; and, on November 21, they published a pamphlet¹¹ exposing their grievances, which was scarcely helpful to the University. The conflict had taken a personal form; but it is evident that to Torrey and Vethake, at any rate, the primary cause was their disappointment at finding that the new University was apparently to be nothing but an ordinary college.

The "second department," for graduate instruction, which the first faculty had expected to organize, was surely incompatible with the very meagre endowment yet achieved. Chancellor Mathews and his friends, moreover, were in haste to buy land and erect a building, in order that the city might *see* the University. Already in September, 1832, the Chancellor had selected a location; and on October 27, 1832, the Council approved of his choice. Samuel Thompson on that day sold to New York University for \$40,000, "the ground fronting on Wooster Street [now Washington Square East] between Fifth and Sixth Streets [now Washington Place and Waverly Place], about 181 feet deep."¹² Two prominent members of the Council, John Delafield, the Secretary, and Samuel Ward, the Treasurer, opposed its purchase; a safe presumption, I believe, is that they felt the purchase to be beyond the means of the University. Both Delafield and Ward soon resigned their seats upon

¹¹ *Vide supra*, footnote 8.

¹² This lot was the southeastern corner of a parcel of 50,000 square feet bought by John Jacob Astor in 1802, and sold by him to the Second Associated Reformed Church in 1803; the southern half of the original purchase was sold to the Scotch Presbyterian Church in 1825; and the present University lot was bought by Samuel Thompson in 1832 for \$25,000. From abstract of title made in 1876 by W. A. W. Stewart, in the possession of the Treasurer of the University.

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the Council; and their sympathies seem to have been completely alienated. Mr. Ward, particularly, was perhaps glad to be relieved of the responsibility of supervising the Chancellor's financial arrangements; an auditing committee appointed after his resignation reported, on December 24, 1832, that they had "not deemed it expedient to enter upon a detailed examination of the disbursements," for, they explained, "the nature of the expenses incurred was probably well understood by the Council, and that they were unavoidable, but not readily made to assume the shape of items to pass the ordeal of an auditing committee."

On January 28, 1833, the Council appointed a building committee, and authorized it to adopt a plan for the university building, and to make a contract with the agent of the State Prison at Sing Sing for the purchase of marble. On the building committee the most active members were, as usual, the Chancellor and General Tallmadge. In February they were authorized to make contracts also for the erection of the building. The plans were drawn by the firm of Town, Davis, and Dakin, architects; and on July 2, 1833, the Building Committee reported that it had made a contract with Seth Geer to erect the building and finish the first and second floors for \$75,000; the third and fourth could be finished, it was reported, for an extra \$8,000. The marble from Sing Sing would cost about \$10,000; but "influential men in the State encourage us to believe that ultimately the marble will be given by the State." One may safely comment that these engagements were ambitious enough, in view of the fact that practically all the money hitherto received from subscriptions had been spent to pay for the land.¹³ The Chancellor, however, had his heart fixed on a "great Gothic chapel"; and that was not included in the contract, nor was it mentioned as yet in the report of the building committee.

¹³ On June 29, 1833, there was a balance in the Treasury of \$66.46!

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On this basis construction was begun in the summer of 1833, and was so far completed by the autumn of 1835, that the college moved into its new quarters at the beginning of its fourth academic year. The financing of the project was, as may well be imagined, a complicated and difficult undertaking. The sanguine estimates of the Building Committee were far exceeded. With absolutely no capital at its disposal, the Council was forced to contract one mortgage after another, until in 1837 the mortgaged debt amounted to \$110,000, and the floating debt to \$33,000. The University building, therefore, without the land, cost at least \$140,000. In this estimate is not included about \$10,000 raised by the Rev. Cyrus Mason for the endowment of his own professorship of the Evidences of Revealed Religion, and recklessly spent by Chancellor Mathews, apparently without the approval of the Council, on finishing his "great Gothic chapel." In its outward appearance, at least, the new building was one of which the University and the city might be proud; although we may smile at the words of a "gentleman of taste recently returned from Europe," who, at Chancellor Frelinghuysen's inauguration, in 1839, was heard by a reporter to remark that "he had seen nothing abroad to equal it." Possibly there were two meanings implied in the compliment! For two generations Washington Square was beautified by its crenelated towers. From within, however pleasing it must have been to students and faculty after three years in rented quarters, the ultimate result was not so satisfactory. As early as February, 1836, for example, Samuel F. B. Morse, who had lodged in the northwest tower room since December, 1835, complained¹⁴ that the walls were continually wet, that the chimney did not draw, and that at times his "room was a perfect shower bath." Indeed, until 1894, the Council was perpetually plagued with complaints about the bad state of the rooms. To sixty annual

¹⁴ Ms. letter in New York University archives.

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classes of students, however, the rooms at Washington Square were filled with the memories of happy youth.

After the storm of 1833, the University enjoyed three years of peace and prosperity. In the Council, James Tallmadge replaced Morgan Lewis as president. In the faculty, Professor Tappan continued to teach Philosophy. Two young men came from West Point, Charles W. Hackley in Mathematics,¹⁵ and William A. Norton in Natural Philosophy.¹⁶ Lewis C. Beck, afterwards mineralogist for the State of New York, came from Rensselaer to teach Chemistry. The Rev. John W. Proudfit, a graduate of Union, was given the chair of Latin. A scholar of distinction and promise, Robert B. Patton, Yale 1817, who had taken a doctor's degree at Göttingen in 1821, was chosen professor of Greek. After the difficulties of 1833 it is rather astonishing how good a body of men was obtained to form the second faculty. It must be confessed, however, that the most famous name in the list of candidates was that of a gentleman who wished to be a professor, but was not selected. On June 3, 1834, S. H. Cox in the Council nominated Professor Henry W. Longfellow of Bowdoin College to be professor of Spanish. Longfellow came to New York, bringing with him an enthusiastic letter of recommendation from George Ticknor.¹⁷ In spite of the recommendation, New York University lost its opportunity, and in September, 1834, an obscure Spaniard was elected instead of Longfellow. New York University's loss soon proved to be Harvard's gain.

The years 1834 to 1836, however, were pleasant years. Student enrollment was relatively good; the salaries of the faculty were twice increased; and the Rev. Cyrus Mason, as we have seen before, believed, at any rate, that he had raised the funds for an endowed professorship. The Council

¹⁵ Afterwards, from 1843 to 1861, professor of Astronomy at Columbia.

¹⁶ Afterwards, from 1852 to 1883, professor of Civil Engineering at Yale.

¹⁷ H. S. Gorman: *A Victorian American, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, New York, 1926, p. 176.

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discussed at great length and took steps toward organizing schools of Law and of Medicine, of which an account will be given in later chapters.

When the University left Clinton Hall for its own building, it lost the use of the libraries of the Lyceum of Natural History and of the Historical Society.¹⁸ Steps were now taken to begin a library of its own. A small amount of money was appropriated, and donations were solicited. Professors Proudfit and Patton seem to have been the chief agents in the matter, and Patton was elected librarian by the Council. He had presumably learned his lesson in Germany, for he entered into his task with enthusiasm, devotion, and skill. Cornelius Baker of the Council made a gift of ninety-five books, consisting of the best classical texts. Other gifts were received; and, in September, 1835, James Tallmadge, then in London, secured from the British government a full set of the Record Commissioners' Publications, in ninety-four volumes. William W. Chester, of the Council, presented a collection of twenty-five Arabic manuscripts; and Talbot Olyphant & Company, the well known American firm in Canton, gave a copy of Robert Morrison's great Chinese dictionary.

But even during the calm before the storm which was to break in 1838, the new faculty began to duplicate the experiences of their predecessors in their relations to the Chancellor. This time Professor Tappan, who had in 1833 remained loyal to Dr. Mathews, was the first to feel the strain. As early as March, 1835, the faculty voted, at his suggestion, that "the present is an important crisis in the affairs of the University." Tappan explained that he referred to the existence of certain evils in the administration of the University, especially the entire uncertainty in the minds of the faculty, if not of the Chancellor, as to the relation they held

¹⁸ The library of the Historical Society was, however, again at the University from 1841 to 1855.

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to each other. The professors expressed their hope that, on all matters connected with the internal affairs of the University, the Chancellor would consult them before he submitted an opinion to the Council. It is clear that the new faculty resented what they felt to be the dictatorial methods of the Chancellor.

With the year 1837, however, and the financial panic which began in the spring of that year, a new and greater element of discord was introduced. After February, 1837, the payment of salaries to the faculty seems to have ceased. It is probably true that there was no money in the treasury to pay them; but the Council continued to borrow money for the completion of the Gothic chapel. On May 31, 1837, if Professor Patton could have known it, he would have been distressed to learn that a mortgage for \$15,000 was placed on the books in the library! And in November, 1837, with the salaries of the regular faculty unpaid for six months, the Council proceeded to elect a new professor, the Rev. Cortland Van Rensselaer, to the chair of Sacred Literature, whose duties, as Chancellor Mathews presented them, were to reconcile the new discoveries in Geology with the eternal truths of divine revelation. The faculty afterwards insisted, moreover, that the rents for those rooms in the new building which the College did not use, and which were promised by the Chancellor to the professors, were used by the Chancellor to pay his own expenses on a trip to Albany.¹⁹ The Chancellor, it appears, frequently suggested to the individual professors the great need for retrenchment; but his method was to suggest that it would be wise to discharge another professor than the one with whom he was conversing. In the last analysis, of course, the cause for the tragic dissension was the failure of the Chancellor to complete the endowment. Before the crash came, early in 1837, he

¹⁹ From the beginning it had been the intention of the Council, however, to use the rents from such rooms to pay the interest on the mortgage.

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had collected only about \$80,000 of the original pledge of \$100,000; and every penny had been sunk in the building.

For some time the Council had in desperation looked to the State Government for relief; and in February, 1838, Chancellor Mathews, who had made a similar trip in vain a year before, went in person to Albany to appeal to the Legislature.²⁰ While he was in Albany, the storm broke in New York. The faculty joined in a unanimous appeal to the Council to save the University from ruin by removing from the chancellorship a man "who had completely lost the confidence of the community." General Tallmadge, still loyal to the Chancellor, was able to protect him in the Council from the faculty attack; but in the Council itself dissension appeared. On March 3, 1838, while the Chancellor was still in the lobby at Albany, the Council voted to appoint a Bursar, to collect all rents and tuition fees, and to disburse them only upon the written order of a Committee on Finance. The Committee on Finance, consisting of Charles Butler, Robert Kelly, and B. L. Wooley, was instructed to make a searching examination of the University finances, and to report quarterly to the Council. Both these measures were manifestly taken to remove from the Chancellor's hands the financial control which he had unofficially exercised since his appointment.

But on April 17, 1838, the Legislature at last voted that out of the money deposited by the Federal Government with the State of New York, by the act of 1836, there should be paid for five years, and until otherwise directed by law, to the University of the City of New York, the annual sum of six thousand dollars. The Chancellor reported his success to the Council on May 3, 1838, in a long and eloquent pæan of triumph, ending with the words: "For myself I feel it

²⁰ In the University archives is an interesting series of manuscript letters, written by the Chancellor from Albany, to Charles Butler, recently elected a member of the Council. The letters show that the Chancellor was a good politician.

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my duty, here to erect my Ebenezer, saying 'Hitherto hath the Lord helped,' and whether I look back to the past or forward to the future, I feel persuaded that in founding this University, we have established an institution which will continue to be a blessing to future generations, long after we shall have rendered up our account."

It was perhaps natural that the unpaid professors expected that, with this aid from the State, their salaries should now be paid. The Chancellor told the Council that he had been able to convince the legislature of the merits of the institution only by showing it that New York University was something more than a mere college. Surely, the professors reasoned, this was not the moment for retrenchment.

But on June 5, 1838, the finance committee (or rather, Messrs. Kelly and Wooley, for Charles Butler was in Europe) presented to the Council the result of their investigations. They had clearly spent an immense amount of time and patience on their report; and it is, therefore, a document of fundamental importance in the history of New York University. They were, it is easy to see, without exaggeration stupefied to discover the divergences between the rosy optimism of the Chancellor's reports to the Council, and the black reality. Their first surprise was the discovery that none of the treasurers had kept any systematic account! Their next surprise came from an investigation of the subscription list. For subscriptions pledged before June 1, 1833, no list had been kept. "The amount of subscriptions received into the Treasury is also far less than we had imagined. About four-fifths only of the sum considered indispensable to the establishment of the University have been received during these several years; and the amount received is obviously insufficient to the enterprise." But their greatest surprise was the discovery that the Chancellor's repeated reports of the material prosperity of the College were myths. "The annual deficits during the six years

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of instruction are vastly beyond the calculations which your Committee had made. The number of students is much smaller than we had ever heard named, and fully one-third of these have paid no tuition." The Committee estimated that without another subscription of at least \$75,000, the University must collapse.

The immediate result was a request from the Chancellor for a leave of absence, to take effect at once, in order that he might "relieve the apprehensions of his medical advisors, and seek a respite for his labors, and a severance for a time from the scenes of labor, by going abroad." His best friends on the Council, John Lorimer Graham and others, seem to have persuaded him that resistance, not flight, was the wise policy; and the Chancellor decided to remain at his labors. On July 26, 1838, Dr. Milnor resigned from the Council, because, said rumor, of insulting remarks made to him in the Council by Mr. Graham; and in the course of the next two months enough members of the Council who were opposed to the Chancellor resigned their seats to give the Chancellor and his friends a safe majority. In the process, almost all of the Councillors of 1831 disappeared from the Council. Especially noteworthy was the resignation of William B. Crosby, Edward Delafield, Cornelius Baker, and Stephen Van Rensselaer. The latter had been one of the most generous contributors to the first subscription.

The purged Council then proceeded to discipline the refractory professors. One member of the faculty, Dr. Cyrus Mason, was persuaded to break with the other seven. On August 30, 1838, the Council voted to "reorganize" the faculty, in such a way that the seven professors found themselves without duties or salaries. The explanation given by the Council was the need of retrenchment; the faculty considered the motive to be revenge by the Chancellor. The faculty, perhaps unwisely, answered by pub-

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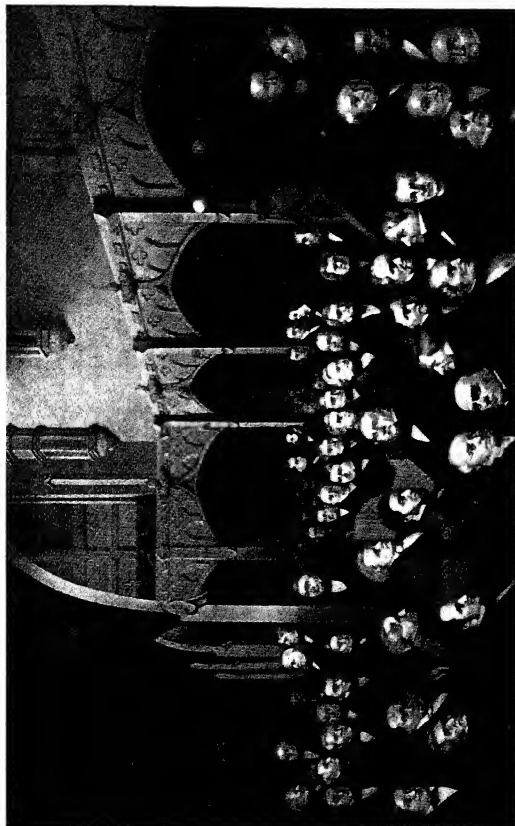
lishing a letter of complaint to the Council;²¹ and the Council, on September 28, replied by definitely discharging Tappan, Patton, Proudfit, Hackley, Beck, Norton, and Gale from their positions. The opening of the new academic year was at hand. To the disgust of the discharged professors, who insisted that their dismissal was illegal, a committee of the Council, Tallmadge, Graham, Chester, and others, arrived at the University building to conduct the entrance examinations. There were no teachers left but the Rev. Cyrus Mason; and, in some haste, on September 28 the Council elected three new professors, Ebenezer Johnson in Greek and Latin, Benjamin Joslin in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and John W. Draper in Chemistry and Botany. A considerable part of the undergraduates participated in the combat by presenting a letter of protest to the Council, and withdrawing from the College. The seventh academic year began, therefore, under disastrous conditions.

Particularly unfortunate for the University was the need felt by all parties concerned of appealing to the public for their own justification. The New York newspapers were filled with bitter publicity. The discharged professors presented their case in a pamphlet of seventy-eight pages,²² which at present has at least the merit of providing much material, however prejudiced, on the early history of the University, especially on the financial side. In reply the Council's case was presented to the public in a pamphlet²³ prepared by William Curtis Noyes, a young lawyer recently elected a member of the Council, to whose care much of the historical material preserved in the University archives is due.

²¹ *A Letter to the Councillors of the University of the City of New York from the Professors*, 19 pp., New York, 1838.

²² *History of the Controversy in the University of the City of New York, with original documents*, pp. 50 + xxviii, New York, 1838.

²³ *An Exposition by the Council of the University of the City of New York respecting the late measures of retrenchment*, 96 pp., New York, 1838.



THE GOTHIC CHAPEL IN THE OLD UNIVERSITY BUILDING
about 1850

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Under these very melancholy auspices, the new college year began. It is perhaps surprising that any students or any professors appeared. Indeed, only eighteen new students matriculated. John W. Draper, to be sure, postponed his arrival in the faculty for another year; but with the appointment of Tayler Lewis as professor of Greek, and of Caleb Henry as professor of Philosophy, both elected on October 25, 1838, a more than respectable faculty was provided.

It is impossible to-day to understand the arrangement which had been made among the Chancellor's friends at the time of the controversy. Possibly he had been persuaded, in June, 1838, at the time of his request for a leave of absence, that he should stay through the crisis, and then resign. On February 9, 1839, in any case, he presented his resignation, again on the plea of ill health; and two days later the Council accepted it. The Council declared that "at this juncture it is peculiarly proper that the Council should express their opinion of his character, and services to the University," and resolved that "in him they recognize the principal founder of the liberal system of education on which the University is based"; that "they have been witnesses of his zeal, devotion, and sacrifice," and "that they have always had entire confidence in his integrity." It is pleasant to close the history of the first administration with these words; but that they should have been needed at all was unfortunate. It is also pleasant to know that Chancellor Mathews continued to serve as a member of the Council for nearly ten years more, and that in his memoirs, published in 1865, he gives no sign of anything but agreeable memories of the University. It has been difficult to conceal his mistakes.²⁴ They were doubtless due to excessive zeal; and his

²⁴ An extraordinary parallel may be drawn between the academic career of Chancellor Mathews and that of Professor John Thornton Kirkland, of Harvard, whose resignation in 1828 under similarly unhappy circumstances has been brilliantly described by Professor S. E. Morison in the *Transactions* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume 27, 1932.

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efforts in behalf of the Law School and the Medical School, of which more will be said in later chapters, show that he had at heart more of the University than a college, or even a Gothic chapel.

CHAPTER IV
CHANCELLOR FRELINGHUYSEN'S ADMIN-
ISTRATION, 1839-1850
AND THE INTERREGNUM, 1850-1853

ECHOES of the storm in New York were not long in reaching Albany. In April, 1839, the State Legislature received three memorials concerning New York University: one from certain shareholders complaining of abuse of powers by the Council; another from the dismissed professors; and the third, from the Council, praying for an immediate inquiry. The Legislature ordered the Board of Regents to make a thorough investigation. James King, John A. Dix, and Gerritt Y. Lansing sat in the building at Washington Square during the whole month of May, 1839, while the opposing parties presented their case.¹ Dr. Mathews himself was examined for more than a week.

It is fortunately unnecessary to amplify the report made by the Regents on January 10, 1840;² they found that the professors had been legally discharged; but they had very severe words for the financial mismanagement by the Council. Chancellor Mathews was entirely cleared of any suspicion of dishonesty or personal gain. Happily, the committee of the Regents left behind them in New York an institution, chastened by adversity, but cheered by new hopes for the future. A new chancellor, a new faculty, and improved finances were sound reasons for encouragement.

¹ An extensive memorandum of the evidence, in the hand of William Curtis Noyes of the Council, attorney for Chancellor Mathews, is preserved in the University archives.

² Printed as *Legislative Document No. 10*, State of New York, 1840.

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Chancellor Mathews had resigned on February 11, 1839. On March 18, 1839, Theodore Frelinghuysen was elected his successor. It seems impossible to-day to discover the immediate explanation of the choice. Mr. Frelinghuysen was fifty-two years old, a graduate of Princeton in the class of 1804, and a resident of Newark, New Jersey. He had been Attorney-General of New Jersey from 1817 to 1829, and senator from New Jersey from 1829 to 1835. In 1837 and 1838 he had served as Mayor of Newark. He had achieved fame as a Whig politician, and still more as an honest and devout gentleman, who had earned the nickname of the "Christian statesman." He had excellent qualifications for the chancellorship; but one is tempted to wonder what appeal the office had for him. It may perhaps be true that he had tired of the turmoil of politics, and welcomed an opportunity for academic calm. Moreover, it may be added, the Council offered him a salary almost twice as large as that which Dr. Mathews had received.

The new Chancellor was in many ways a distinct contrast to his predecessor. Dr. Mathews was, we may believe, a man of commanding presence and constant dignity, with a habit, perhaps too intensified, of insisting on his own ideas. Mr. Frelinghuysen, Tayler Lewis tells us, could, when necessary, be impressively dignified; but he also had a "fund of anecdote, a touch of humor, and in a word that easy sociability, such a well known trait of gentlemen of the bar," he adds.³ Professor Lewis, in fact, seems to have felt that the new Chancellor leaned too much on the judgment of the faculty, and did not impress his own opinions enough. If this was the case, we may repeat that the contrast with the first administration was marked, indeed.

In spite of the haste made requisite by the dismissal of the seven professors in the autumn of 1838, and in spite of

³ In T. W. Chambers: *Memoir of the Life and Character of the Late Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen*, New York, 1863, pp. 95-102. Professor Lewis' entire letter will be found in the appendix to this history.

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the efforts made by some of those dismissed to hinder the filling of the vacancies caused by their own withdrawal, the Council had been able to secure a worthy faculty. The senior professor on the governing board was that curious personality, the Rev. Cyrus Mason, who had deserted his colleagues during the crisis, and on whose head, in consequence, the seven professors had cast contempt and derision. He was, at least nominally, it may be remembered, the occupant of an endowed chair of the Evidences of Revealed Religion, but was also charged after 1843 with instruction in Political Economy. In neither capacity, however, does he appear to have been particularly forceful. His main task, however, was the direction of the University Grammar School.⁴ He had, it is said, once been a clergyman of promise and distinction; and he still had, if we may believe one of his pupils (Francis N. Zabriskie, A.B. 1850), an ability to talk at length upon any topic under the sun, with no relationship at all to either Paley or John Stuart Mill. He had apparently lost the confidence of the community; and constant failure in speculation had made him a prey for the bill-collectors, who frequently forced their way into his classroom. Mr. Zabriskie tells us that in his own years in college, Professor Mason's class had to meet behind locked doors in the Chapel to avoid unseemly interruptions.

The new Chancellor found one more source for anxiety in his faculty. The new professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Benjamin F. Joslin, was graduated from Union College in the class of 1821, and from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1826. He taught Mathematics at Union from 1827 to 1837, but his main interest seems to have been in homeopathic medicine. This avocation may have affected his power of discipline; for even the Council was forced to concern itself with the disorder in his

⁴ Which was maintained, for over 35 years in the basement of the University building as a private undertaking by various members of the faculty.

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classes, until he was persuaded in 1844 to resign his position. His successor, Elias Loomis, was a much more talented man, of whom I shall speak later.

With these two exceptions, the new faculty was well selected.⁵ Tayler Lewis in Greek, Ebenezer Johnson in Latin, Caleb S. Henry in Philosophy, and John W. Draper in Chemistry could be favorably compared with the best teachers in other American colleges of the time.

Tayler Lewis, whose father had served as captain in the American army at Yorktown, was a graduate of Union College in 1820 and a classmate of William H. Seward. For a few years he had practiced as a lawyer in Saratoga County. A growing interest in philology, particularly of the Semitic languages, however, had discontented him with his first profession; and in 1833 he opened a private classical academy at Ogdensburg. His Phi Beta Kappa address on the subject of "Faith, the Light of Science," given at Union College in 1838, brought him much favorable attention; and he was selected as professor of Greek in New York University in the autumn of 1838. Although he had not studied abroad, he was a sound classical scholar, of the type of President Felton of Harvard, and his edition of *Plato's Laws, Book X*, published in 1845, was an earnest and honest piece of work.⁶ His heart, however, seems ever to have been primarily in Semitic and Biblical studies, as his career after his return to Union in 1850 evidences.

Ebenezer Johnson will long be remembered by New York University as a teacher whose term of service will not soon be surpassed; entering the faculty in 1838, he was still teaching Latin when removed by death in 1891. He was born in New Haven in 1813, and was a graduate of Yale in the class of 1833. Like Tayler Lewis, he tried the law, and

⁵ A very sympathetic and personal account of the faculty at this time is found in F. N. Zabriskie's articles in the *Christian Intelligencer*, May 7-21, 1884.

⁶ Cf. E. G. Sihler: *Klassische Studien und Klassischer Unterricht in den Vereinigten Staaten*, in *Neue Jahrbücher*, Vol. 10, 1902, p. 510.

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turned from it to Classical Philology. He was not apparently the scholar that his colleague Lewis was; but he was acquainted with European scholarship, and had a sound devotion to Latin Grammar. His private library, now in the Library at University Heights, attests his interest in German contributions to Classical Philology. Tayler Lewis characterizes him as a man of "precise New Englandism"; and this succinct description may suffice.

Caleb Sprague Henry, the new professor of Philosophy, was born in Rutland, Massachusetts, in 1804, and was graduated at Dartmouth in 1825. His first vocation was theology, and, after study at Andover, he was settled as Congregational minister at Greenfield, Massachusetts. He was soon attracted by Episcopalianism, and in 1835 took orders in that church. Tayler Lewis characterizes him as a "churchman of towering altitude"; and Henry and Johnson must have made an interesting contrast. Dr. Lyman Abbott of the Class of 1853, writing in 1914, remembered Caleb Henry with particular affection and gratitude: "My indebtedness to Dr. Henry I can never adequately express. . . . Whatever power I have had in my after life to think problems through to a conclusion, to state with clearness that conclusion when I have reached it, and to defend it against critics, I owe, first to inheritance, and second to the intellectual discipline received in the New York University from Dr. Henry."⁷

John William Draper did not appear in the faculty until the autumn of 1839, although his appointment was discussed in 1838. The delay was due to difficulties in the organization of the University Medical School, where, it was expected, his main work would lie. It was a fortunate event for the University College that the opening of the Medical

⁷ Lyman Abbott: *Reminiscences*, Chapter 3; *Outlook*, vol. 106, pp. 676-95. Here will also be found an excellent portrait of Dr. Henry, and a very sympathetic account of the University College as it was during Lyman Abbott's student days, 1849-53.

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School, which will be described elsewhere, allowed the College to secure Draper's service as professor of Chemistry; for many years he was in the public eye the best known of its faculty. He was born in England, near Liverpool, in 1811, the son of a Roman Catholic gentleman of unknown name, who had been converted to Wesleyan Methodism and disowned by his own people, and, in consequence, had taken the name of John Christopher Draper as a Wesleyan minister. The son attended the new London University, and became zealous in the study of chemistry. At his father's death, the family crossed to Virginia, where young Draper expected, in vain, to teach Natural History in a local Methodist college. As early as 1834 he set up a small experimental laboratory in his Virginia home, and published the results of his experiments on capillary attraction in the *Journal of the Franklin Institute*. In 1835 he attended the University of Pennsylvania, securing a medical degree, but working chiefly on osmosis in Physiology. Late in 1836 he was appointed professor of Chemistry in Hampden Sidney College. Hence he was called to take his place in New York University. From his arrival in 1839 until his death in 1882, Dr. Draper was the mainstay of the University Medical School; and his career there will be noted in the chapter devoted to that School. At the University College during the same period he taught Chemistry and Natural History; and yet found time to win recognition as one of the first scientists of the country, especially in the field of radiant energy. With his colleague, S. F. B. Morse, he experimented in photography, and himself made the first complete portrait of a person ever recorded by the sun. He made important contributions in connection with the telegraph. To the world at large he became best known as the indefatigable and brilliant author of the *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe* (1863), and of the *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science*

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(1874), which have remained classics of mid-nineteenth-century rationalism.⁸

It was unfortunate that men like Lewis and Draper, and a few years later, Elias Loomis, had no opportunity to give advanced instruction to graduate students. For that purpose had the University been founded. But, even if the resources of the University had permitted, it is doubtful whether the United States in 1840 would have supplied such students. In any case, Lewis, Draper, Loomis, and their colleagues spent their efforts on drilling unruly school-boys in the University College, and wasted their time in the faculty meetings on interminable discussions on discipline. To the credit of the University College students, however, be it said that on January 6, 1840, the faculty voted that "the examinations at the close of the last session are in general highly satisfactory, and all the students have sustained their examinations with the different professors" except one helpless victim of Professor Draper's high standards, who had "not been present in the Chemistry class sufficient to be entitled to examination." Perhaps students have changed in ninety years; but possibly the statement of Mr. M. A. DeWolf Howe about James Ford Rhodes' career in New York University may be generalized:⁹ that either the students were of extraordinary brilliancy, or it was easy in New York University to receive high marks.

In 1840 the University had not merely a new Chancellor and a new faculty, but also new hopes of financial stability. The crisis of 1837 and the close of the first administration had left it with no endowment and a debt of about \$175,000. Was it true, as the seven professors asserted, that "Chancellor Mathews had lost the confidence of the community"? In any case, he had resigned in February, 1839; and on May

⁸ Cf. Ellwood Hendrick's sketch of J. W. Draper in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 5, 1930.

⁹ M. A. DeW. Howe: *James Ford Rhodes, American Historian*, New York, 1929, p. 35.

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18 of the same year, Chancellor Frelinghuysen was able to announce that \$75,000 had been pledged for the University. During the autumn, the subscriptions were collected. Among the hundred subscribers to the new fund, should be noted the names of John Johnston, George Griswold, Stephen Whitney, S. S. Howland, James Borman, and Myndert Van Schaick, who were the most generous patrons of the new administration. By these efforts, and another subscription of \$35,000 raised in 1843, the crushing load of debt was, at least temporarily, removed;¹⁰ had it been possible to rid the College of the incubus of the free scholarships given in return for the subscription of 1831, the relief would have been far greater. The number of undergraduates in the University College, which had been severely depleted by the dissensions of 1838, slowly increased, until in the year 1847-48 there were over one hundred and fifty in attendance. In the Medical Department, which definitely began instruction in October, 1841, there were in 1847-48, four hundred and twenty students. In its fifteenth year of operation, New York University had clearly not achieved the form nor the size of which its founders had dreamed; but fifteen years is not a long period. With continued financial support, and left to develop in a peaceful and orderly manner, the University faculties had in 1847 a good chance of quiet progress.

But such, unfortunately, was not the immediate future which fate had in store. The University College was not given ten years of peace after the storm of 1838 before another tempest arose. As in 1838 the center of controversy was the first Chancellor, so in 1848 the center was the person of Dr. Mathews' loyal champion, General James Tallmadge, who, since 1834, had been the President of the Council. On this occasion, moreover, the cause of the un-

¹⁰ Although after the subscription, there were still mortgages to the amount of \$90,000.

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seemly public disputation is obscure, unless expressed in personalities. On May 27, 1846, General Tallmadge resigned from the Council. His own explanation of his reason was that he had made the discovery that the annual reports made by the Chancellor, and transmitted by the Council to the Board of Regents of the State of New York, were not honest presentations of the condition of the University. His accusations seem to have been directed against the report concerning the financial standing of the University; but he had evidently become violently antagonized by Chancellor Frelinghuysen. The second Chancellor had probably been selected largely by General Tallmadge, and the arrangements for his compensation had surely been made under Tallmadge's direction; but now, in 1846, Tallmadge discovered that the Chancellor was receiving an extravagant salary,¹¹ while he was permitting the annual deficit to increase, and the College was "lowering the grade of classic education."¹² Such charges from the man who had defended Chancellor Mathews on the charge of extravagance, and who in his address at the opening of the University building, in May, 1837, had dedicated it as a "Temple of Science," are rather astonishing; and one is led to believe that there must have been a sudden personal antagonism between the two men. It is possible, indeed, that national politics may have played some part in the quarrel. In the election of 1844, as is well known, Chancellor Frelinghuysen was the Whig candidate for vice-president; Tallmadge was one of the leaders of the Whig party in New York,¹³ and may have felt some resentment with Frelinghuysen over the failure of the Whig ticket. More plausible is the explanation of

¹¹ Besides his ordinary salary of \$3,000 and house, Chancellor Frelinghuysen, it is true, received personally \$5 apiece for each diploma given in the medical department.

¹² Letter from James Tallmadge in *The New York Tribune*, dated April 16, 1847.

¹³ James Tallmadge is best known in American history for his motion made in Congress in 1819, to exclude slavery from Missouri.

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“one of the faculty”¹⁴ in a letter to *The New York Tribune*, that “General Tallmadge wanted to be president of the College, as well as of the Council,” and that the Chancellor had checked his ambitions in that direction.

Such a dispute within the Council was natural and pardonable; that which is difficult to understand is the desire felt by all parties concerned to tell their troubles to the public. From April, 1847, when Tallmadge first wrote to the *Tribune*, until March, 1849, the New York newspapers contain articles, ever increasing in animosity, about the University. If the Chancellor had retired from politics in 1839 to seek academic calm, he must by 1849 have been disillusioned.

Such public controversy, of course, was bound to curb private benefaction; and the number of students in the College declined at the same time, and probably from the same cause. Most striking of all evidences of disorder in the University is that, from the resignation of Tallmadge in May, 1846, it was impossible for the Council to agree upon a successor in its presidency, or, at least, to find a gentleman who would serve, until the election of Charles Butler, in February, 1849. Dr. Mathews resigned from the Council in 1847, probably in sympathy with his friend Tallmadge; and of the original members of 1830, only two, George Griswold^{14A} and the ever faithful Myndert Van Schaick, were left.

For eight years, since Dr. Mathews had obtained the annual grant of \$6,000 from the State, with the general understanding that it would be continued indefinitely, this grant had been the essential item in balancing the budget; now, amid other adversities, even this support was lost.

¹⁴ Identified as Tayler Lewis in a scrapbook formerly belonging to William Curtis Noyes of the Council.

^{14A} Concerning George Griswold, interesting information will be found in an article by Professor R. G. Albion, *Yankee Domination of New York Port, 1820-1865*, in the *New England Quarterly*, Volume V, pp. 665-698, October, 1932.

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The new State constitution, adopted in 1846, stipulated that no State appropriation should be made for a longer term than two years. In 1847 the University College received only \$3,000 from the State; in 1848, only \$2,000; in 1849, \$1,500; in 1850, \$3,000; and after that nothing.¹⁵ The loss of State support created an increasing annual deficit, and *The New York Herald* on February 8, 1848, declared that "total ruin and bankruptcy for New York University were close at hand."¹⁶

The Council realized the critical status in which the University found itself, due less to its debt than to the loss of public confidence, and made serious efforts to improve the situation. In June, 1847, a committee under the chairmanship of Luther Bradish was appointed to raise the sum of \$80,000. The committee secured pledges for \$40,000 only, contingent upon securing the rest of the \$80,000. Its failure was largely due, apparently, to the constant attacks upon the University in the public press. Moreover, at least some members of the Council realized that, with the retention of the principle of free scholarships at the disposition of subscribers, to a certain extent, the greater the subscription, the less would be the income of the College.¹⁷

In many ways the College felt the financial pressure directly. In February, 1848, for example, the Council reported upon a circular received from the Regents which urged the compulsory inclusion of the study of French in the curriculum. Few suggestions could have been, perhaps, more in the spirit of the plans of 1830. Since 1832, of course, it had been usually possible for undergraduates to

¹⁵ These figures are taken from the report of the Finance Committee to the Council of the University, on January 23, 1854.

¹⁶ This article is identified in William Curtis Noyes' scrapbook as "probably written by Chancellor Mathews."

¹⁷ In October, 1848, forty-six free scholarships were recognized by the Council; John Johnston controlled eight, George Griswold five, and Cyrus Mason two. In many cases, it should be added, the scholarship owners allowed the faculty to nominate a deserving student for the scholarship.

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secure instruction in modern languages in the College, but always as an "extra," at their own expense. Now the Council was obliged to report, with all deference to the Regents, that, however desirable their recommendation, it was beyond the means of the University.

In 1844, it will be remembered, Elias Loomis had replaced Dr. Joslin as professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. Born in 1811, and a graduate of Yale in the class of 1830, he acted as tutor, and assistant to Professor Silliman in New Haven from 1833 to 1836. Interested alike in pure mathematics, astronomy, and meteorology, he had made for himself a name by being the first to discover Halley's comet upon its return to perihelion in 1835. During 1836 and 1837 he studied in Paris; upon his return, he taught for seven years at Western Reserve,¹⁸ until he came to New York University. Loomis had already come in 1848 to be a mainstay of strength in the faculty. Early in that year he received a call to Princeton. The Council was eager to retain him, and made a valiant effort to raise a sum of \$20,000, to endow his professorship; but its exertions were in vain, and in September, 1848, Professor Loomis' resignation was reluctantly accepted. It is true that he apparently did not find Princeton to his liking; for in the autumn of 1849 he returned to New York University, to remain until his appointment to Yale in 1860. In his case, it seems there must have been an affection for New York University independent of a material basis.

Another loss in the faculty was that of the Rev. Cyrus Mason who resigned in January, 1850. In spite of the unflattering portrait drawn of him by his pupil Francis N. Zabriskie, the Council evidently esteemed highly his past services; for upon his retirement, it voted that "The Coun-

¹⁸ At Western Reserve his investigation of the progress of storms made him one of the founders of the scientific study of meteorology in the United States. Cf. E. R. Miller: *The Pioneer Meteorological Work of Elias Loomis at Western Reserve College, 1837-1844*; in *Monthly Weather Review*, vol. 59, pp. 194-5 (May, 1931).

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cil cannot suffer the occasion to pass without expressing their high appreciation of his ardent devotion to the interests of the University." The endowed chair of the Evidences of Revealed Religion collapsed with his departure. Dr. Mason insisted on taking with him the sum of \$3,766 which he had himself contributed to its endowment; and the Council, rather curiously, agreed to return this sum to him, and \$1,400 to Henry Young, his assignee. The other subscribers to the endowed chair were persuaded to release their interests in the professorship; the endowment, in any case, had been spent, as we know, on the completion of the chapel.

At the distance of eighty years, the departure at the same time of Professor Tayler Lewis, who returned to Union College in 1849, seems a more serious loss, although the Council seems to have taken his resignation with more equanimity than that of Cyrus Mason. In the summer of 1850, then, the governing faculty of the University College was reduced to four professors: Johnson, Draper, Henry, and Loomis; and the newspapers of the city were perhaps not unjustified in calling attention to the approaching collapse of the institution.

But probably the most serious, and to the public surely the most suggestive loss was that of the Chancellor himself. On January 13, 1850, Mr. Frelinghuysen communicated to Charles Butler,¹⁹ who a year before had accepted the presidency of the Council, the fact that he had been offered the presidency of Rutgers College, and had decided to accept the offer. He told Mr. Butler that the deciding factors were the existing pecuniary distress of New York University, and the difficulties of internal organization; he was convinced, he said, that the University could not maintain itself. For a man of the Chancellor's disposition, indeed, the opportunity to return to his native state and leave behind him the discord at Washington Square must have

¹⁹ Ms. memorandum of Charles Butler, in University archives.

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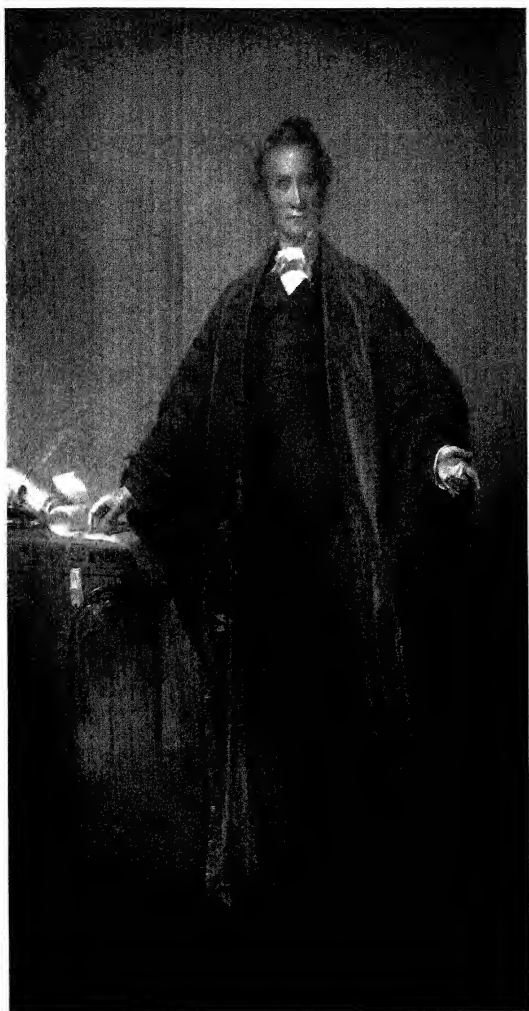
seemed a godsend. Mr. Butler noted that he succeeded in persuading him to stay; but only momentarily, for on April 12, 1850, his resignation was presented and accepted.

During the summer of 1850 even the Council seems to have lost heart. In June it tried in vain to find a new chancellor. Mark Hopkins of Williams College, and Professor John W. Draper were both nominated. On June 21, 1850, the Council elected the Rev. George W. Bethune of Brooklyn to be Chancellor, and also professor of Greek, to replace Tayler Lewis; but Dr. Bethune declined the election. On five successive occasions from July to early September, and again on four, from September, 1850, to January, 1851, no quorum appeared at its stated meetings. Of its members only Myndert Van Schaick attended regularly. To him, surely, more than to any other one man, New York University of to-day owes its existence; had it not been for his untiring exertions during the critical years 1850 to 1853, the University would have been abandoned to its fate by the rest of the Council. Perhaps the melancholy days of 1850 may best be described in his own words, written when the danger of collapse was passed. "In 1850 the institution was agonized with fear, begging for grace and refused, seeking for repose and finding none, the Council breaking up in uncertainty of their safety, and eight times called together under the most pressing circumstances without forming a quorum."²⁰ "The University was in the deepest condition of financial disrepute, and [its building] was about to be sold under a mortgage held by Henry Young."²¹

In this desperate situation, Mr. Van Schaick decided that there was but one remedy. This was to induce the faculty of the University College to relinquish their salaries for a

²⁰ Quoted from his report to the Council, on December 7, 1854.

²¹ From an autograph memorandum, copied in 1900 by Dr. E. G. Sihler from material supplied by his son, Henry Van Schaick, N. Y. U. 1843.



THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN

Second Chancellor

1859-1850

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few years, in order that the Council, released from that obligation, might have a short period in which the rents of the University building, apart from the classrooms, might suffice to pay the interest on the debt. Then the Council, relieved from the immediate danger of foreclosure, might devote itself to a final effort to pay off the debt; while the professors might subsist, as best they could, by dividing among themselves the fees for tuition. Such was the proposal made by him to the Council on September 20, 1850, at its only meeting during that year after July 6, at which a quorum attended. The proposal was laid on the table; but it was generally understood that Mr. Van Schaick would begin negotiations at once with the faculty. Professor Draper received a moderate income from the Medical College and Johnson a small return from his rectorship of the Grammar School, which he had taken over upon Mason's retirement. Professor Loomis was probably receiving a substantial return from his many textbooks. To Dr. Henry the proposal must have seemed ruinous; and, indeed, he not long afterward resigned his chair, in June, 1852. Mr. Van Schaick, however, must have convinced them of the necessity of sacrifice; and in January, 1851, the Council made the proposal effective. It was agreed that there should be no Chancellor until the means allowed; that the rents should be assigned exclusively to the payment of interest on the mortgages; that the faculty should depend entirely on the fees of tuition, and as an equivalent of the tuition lost to them from the existing free scholarships, should not be required to pay the University rent for their classrooms;²² and that the faculty should have entire control of the internal economy of the College, with power to nominate new professors. All that the Council reserved to itself was the final approval of changes suggested by the faculty.

²² Surely these extraordinary words must have surprised the faculty as much as it surprises us to-day.

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And so the faculty took over the management of the College, while the few active members of the Council devoted themselves to the forlorn hope of paying the debt. For the faculty of the College, indeed, the arrangement was about the same as that which had existed in the Medical College since 1841, except that the medical faculty had to provide their own classrooms. Mr. Van Schaick tried to assuage them by the statement that it was the original intention of the University in 1830 that the professors should be encouraged to exertion by being dependent on fees for their support; but such words could not have been very encouraging when in July, 1851, each of the four professors received \$776 apiece after dividing up the fees. It is difficult, indeed, not to feel that the meagreness of their compensation had a certain influence upon their attitude towards a young colleague who had recently joined their company.

In June, 1850, the Council had appointed a successor to Tayler Lewis in the chair of Greek. The new appointee was George C. Anthon, a recent graduate of Columbia,²³ and nephew of Charles Anthon, the distinguished professor of Greek in that college. From the day of his arrival, he seems to have been disliked by his elder colleagues. Perhaps his youth accounted for their lack of sympathy; apparently, also, he liked to tell them "how they taught Greek in Columbia." He surely had a keen sense of his own importance, for, although he did not begin his work until October, 1850, he insisted on receiving a quarter's salary on the first of that month. Moreover, he was not appreciated at his merits by the undergraduates, for his colleagues soon reported to the Council that the students in his lecture-room were indulging in a "series of acts of disorder, turbulence, and insolence." The older professors surely did not enjoy

²³ He was born in 1825, and was graduated from Columbia at the age of 14; he was the brother of Charles E. Anthon, for many years president of the American Numismatic Society.

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the thought of sharing their pittance with the youthful intruder; and the first exercise of their new prerogatives was to recommend to the Council the dismissal of Mr. Anthon, whose continuance in his chair, they were convinced, would be "the greatest possible embarrassment, if not an insuperable difficulty in the way of successfully carrying on the institution." The Council acted promptly, and on April 7, 1851, after a vain effort to persuade him to resign, dismissed Professor Anthon from his chair. Considerable interest in the affair must have been stirred in the public by Mr. Anthon's publication²⁴ of his version of his difficulties. To replace Mr. Anthon, and Professor Henry, who, we have seen, resigned his chair in June, 1852, the faculty, as was their right, nominated Howard Crosby, a graduate of New York University in the class of 1844, to be professor of Greek, and, as professor of Philosophy, the former professor Henry P. Tappan, already known to us as one of the seven professors dismissed from the University in 1838. Mr. Tappan, since his departure from the University, had won for himself considerable distinction as a philosopher, having published several studies on the freedom of the will. He apparently welcomed the opportunity to return to New York; for the bulletin of studies issued by the faculty in 1852 in lieu of the annual catalogue includes his name in his new capacity. His election to the chancellorship of the University of Michigan, however, unfortunately precluded his final acceptance. In his place, there came Benjamin N. Martin, a graduate of Yale in the class of 1837. Mr. Martin was not elected until October, 1854; but he seems to have begun his long service with New York University in 1852, teaching until his death in 1883. By later alumni, Professor Martin was esteemed the best teacher on the faculty.

²⁴ George C. Anthon: *Narrative and documents connected with the displacement of the Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in the University of the City of New York*. New York, 72 pp., 1851.

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Howard Crosby, the new professor of Greek, was the first alumnus of the University College to be appointed to a full professorship on the governing faculty. Born in 1826, he was the son of William Bedlow Crosby, a member of the Council of the University from 1832 to 1838; his mother was the niece of Colonel Henry Rutgers, whose benefaction to Queen's College in New Jersey had resulted in its new name of Rutgers College. From Colonel Rutgers the Crosby family had inherited a fortune which made Howard Crosby's father one of the few millionaires of the day. The son was graduated from New York University in 1844, at the age of eighteen, having gained distinction in his Greek studies, and also, it may now be revealed, as one of the chief tormentors of poor Professor Joslin.²⁵ Several years after his graduation he spent on his father's farm in the successful pursuit of improved health. Then he had travelled widely in the Eastern Mediterranean, and refreshed his interest in the Greek world. Of his person and character I shall speak at a later stage, in recording his election as the fourth Chancellor of the University. In choosing him as professor of Greek, the faculty made an excellent selection.

In this autumn of 1852, Mr. Van Schaick and his few assistants on the Council²⁶ had begun their campaign for subscriptions; and by November, 1852, seem to have had some hope of success. On November 24, at any rate, the Council listened with approval to the nomination by the faculty of the Rev. Isaac Ferris of New York to be Chancellor, when the debt should be paid. On January 5, 1853, Dr. Ferris was, indeed, elected Chancellor, without stated salary until the new subscription was completed; and it is evident that he and the Council were both optimistic.

Isaac Ferris was born in New York in 1798, and was

²⁵ The future Chancellor Crosby was twice disciplined by the faculty in 1842-43 for "disorder and disrespect in Professor's Joslin's class-room"!

²⁶ Of whom William Curtis Noyes seems to have been the most active.

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graduated from Columbia in 1816. Having studied at the Seminary of the Reformed Church in America at New Brunswick, New Jersey, he was ordained to the ministry of the Dutch Reformed Church, and from 1824 to 1836 was pastor in Albany. In 1836 he accepted a call to the Market Street Reformed Church in New York. He was clearly a man of courage and self-reliance; had he not been, he would scarcely now have resigned his pastorate to accept the headship of an institution apparently moribund. Perhaps Myndert Van Schaick gave him encouragement;²⁷ and it may be presumed that they expected to share the work of soliciting subscriptions, Dr. Ferris to labor with the godly, and Mr. Van Schaick with the worshippers of Mammon. Whatever the arrangement, they succeeded. On June 15, 1853, Dr. Ferris reported to the Council that enough subscriptions had been made to liquidate the debt. The Commencement of 1853 was a gala day for New York University. Even on the morning of that day, June 29, the subscription still lacked its goal; but in Chancellor Ferris' notebook²⁸ of subscriptions, appears the item "Mr. Van Schaick, \$2,500, pledged on Commencement Day, June 29, 1853, which made up the sum at that day sufficient to pay the entire debt."

It is true that when in July the Chancellor turned to the collection of subscriptions, he met with a few disappointments, as was to be expected, and was obliged to re-open the campaign.²⁹ On June 14, 1854, however, the last

²⁷ Mr. Van Schaick gave him more than encouragement; between the time of Dr. Ferris' resignation from his pastorate until June, 1853, he was dependent upon Mr. Van Schaick's personal bounty for his support.

²⁸ In the archives of the University preserved in the General Library.

²⁹ A letter from Cornelius Van Schaick Roosevelt, the grandfather of Theodore, to Chancellor Ferris, dated June 5, 1854, and preserved in the University archives, is too interesting to omit:

"My dear Sir: Yours of the 1st instant reached me in due course. I cannot, with my present sentiments, consent to subscribe towards paying any part of the debt of the University. That this may not appear as a mere excuse for the purpose of saving what it might be thought I ought to give, I enclose my check for one hundred dollars, which I would be pleased if you would appropriate to increasing your private library. If it

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dollar of the debt was paid; over seventy thousand dollars had been collected, and transferred to the creditors.³⁰

In reporting to the Council the success of the campaign, Chancellor Ferris spoke with a certain justifiable pride in his accomplishment, closing with an expression of gratitude to Van Schaick for his continued assistance. Mr. Van Schaick, however, in the final report of his committee on finance, made on December 7, 1854, spoke with more reserve but deeper feeling. In the gravest words at his command he depicted the melancholy conditions of 1850, and solemnly implored the Council never henceforth to permit the University to incur indebtedness. He realized, perhaps better than the inexperienced Chancellor, that, even with the debt lifted, a university with no endowment but a building was ill equipped to compete with older and more generously endowed institutions. He clearly foresaw the need of such endowment; but warned the Council and the faculty that such endowment must be earned. "When the industry and the talents of Chancellor and Faculty shall have been fully developed, the acquisition of a permanent endowment will not be difficult to get. In five or six years, they must ask for \$100,000. I know that our liberal merchants will regard your application with disdain, unless your literary and scientific reputation, and your government become distinguished for excellence among the colleges of the land."

To what extent his warning was heeded, and his prophecy fulfilled, will be the subject of the next chapter.

should not be of use to you in that way, you will please distribute it as you think best, but not in my name, among some religious or benevolent institutions."

³⁰ It would be a grateful task to mention all the donors; but I must restrict the list to the principal benefactors: \$5,000 each was given by John Johnston, James Brown, George Griswold, James Lenox, and Myndert Van Schaick; \$4,500 by John C. Green; \$4,000 apiece by George Douglas and William Douglas; \$3,000 each by Thomas Suffern and James Borman. It should also be noted that Samuel F. B. Morse contributed \$2,000 in telegraph stock, and Professor E. A. Johnson \$1,000.

CHAPTER V

CHANCELLOR FERRIS' ADMINISTRATION

1853-1870

THERE can be no doubt that, even with the burden of debt removed from the University, Chancellor Ferris had undertaken a peculiarly difficult task. New York University did not in 1853 enjoy an altogether enviable reputation. In tracing its history we must frankly, if reluctantly, stop to judge it as it was judged by public opinion when the new administration began.

Writing in *Putnam's Monthly*, for July, 1853, Mrs. Caroline M. S. Kirkland, wife of Professor William Kirkland of Hamilton College, and herself a well-known publicist of the time, gives the following description of New York University:

The building it occupies was completed in 1836, one of the monuments of an idea too prevalent heretofore in this country, that colleges are to be built not of men, but of stones. The founders put all their means into a showy edifice. . . . It has, however, much to say for itself, since "only one similar institution among us has educated an equal number of students (455) during the first twenty years of its operation, and of this large number one half have been educated gratuitously." But unfortunately the prosperity of such undertakings is to be judged more from the paying than the gratuitous performances. The University building, an idealized affair of white marble, buttressed and pinnacled like a student's dream of the Middle Ages, stands, lovely to the eye, on the eastern side of Washington Square, fine old trees waving before its windows, and the tall fountain adding the last grace of the academic grove; but the halls which would give convenient room to six hundred students echo to the steps of less than one hundred, and the place, with all its delicate beauty, looks melancholy and deserted.

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Mrs. Kirkland's criticism is directed to the smallness of numbers; and her criticism is not unsympathetic. Three years later, Theodore Winthrop, a young essayist and novelist, whose promising career was cut short by his death at the battle of Big Bethel in June, 1861, satirized New York University in his novel *Cecil Dreeme*¹ with a biting and unfriendly pen. The scene of the novel is partly laid at Chrysalis College on Ailanthus Square, in New York; but no inhabitant of that city could fail to identify New York University. One of the characters lodges in Chrysalis College:

"There I live," said he. "It's not a jail, as you might suspect from its grimish aspect, but Chrysalis College. It is not defunct, but only without vitality. The Trustees fancied that if they built roomy, their college would be populous; if they built marble, it would be permanent; if they built Gothic, it would be scholastic; if they had narrow windows, not too much disorganizing modern thought would penetrate. . . . There it stands, big, battlemented, buttressed, with windows like crenelles; and inside they keep up the traditional methods of education. But pupils do not beleaguer it, and it stays an ineffectual high school. The halls and lecture-rooms would stand vacant, so they let them to lodgers."

Even the alumni of the University were far from enthusiastic. At the dinner of the Alumni Association held on June 29, 1853, after the inauguration of Chancellor Ferris—the same dinner, by the way, at which Samuel F. B. Morse said that the University building was the birthplace of the telegraph—Cornelius Mathews, of the class of 1834, already a journalist and dramatic critic of repute, was called upon to respond to the first toast, "Our Alma Mater"; and the best he could do in the way of response was to remark that "he thought the New York University had not kept up with the age, but that a brighter prospect was now before it."²

¹ Published posthumously, in October, 1861.

² *The New York Tribune*, June 30, 1853. At this same dinner it is inspiring to add that A. Oakey Hall, of the class of 1844, who achieved at least notoriety as mayor of New York, in 1869-72, "responded eloquently to the toast for the ladies."

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Surely the most interesting criticism of the University, however, came from the lips of one of its own faculty, Professor John W. Draper. Asked by the Alumni Association to speak at its twenty-first anniversary meeting, on June 28, 1853, he replied with an address on the "Indebtedness of the City of New York to its University."³ He first defended the University from what he declared to be a general popular criticism.

New York City has virtually said to the University: "Thou great mendicant! What has become of the hundreds of thousands of dollars I have given? Where are those promised crowds of youth I expected in thy halls? How is it that in twenty years and at all this cost thou hast completed the education of only four hundred and fifty-five persons? Are there not in my streets half a million of people; what is the meaning of these contemptible classes of sixty or seventy annually under thy roofs?"

In the United States, replies Dr. Draper, the measure too often applied is the number of students, a standard wholly fallacious. In the advancement of knowledge New York University had already, in twenty years, played a great rôle. To S. F. B. Morse, a professor of the University, was due the invention of the telegraph; to another professor (Dr. Draper himself) was due the application of Daguerre's process to the photography of the human face. The University had repaid its debt to the city by these two facts alone. For more than twelve years a department of the University (again Dr. Draper's) had made extended investigations into the chemical action of sunlight accepted as authoritative by Berzelius in Sweden, by the French Academy, by Sir John Herschel in England, and by the Royal Academy at Naples.

Indeed, if any of you are desirous of knowing the particulars of what our University has done, you will learn with more correctness at the foot of the Alps than in New York City. I say that the City of New York has received, directly and indirectly, from one department alone of the

³ J. W. Draper: *The Indebtedness of the City of New York to Its University*, 30 pp., New York, 1853.

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University a full return for whatever it has given. Up to 1853, the Medical College of the University has expended about \$200,000, of which not a cent has been contributed by the city. Can you point out, in any part of the world, an institution which has done more than the Medical College for the cause of learning and charity?

From the facts thus presented, Professor Draper continued, his hearers might infer that in two of its departments, the scientific and the medical, New York University offered an example of brilliant success. Why was it, then, he asked, that the public still persisted in misunderstanding it? Dr. Draper, at any rate, had an easy answer. Because, he said, "to use language which this mercantile community can understand, we have been trying to sell goods for which there is no market! Considering the system of free scholarships among us, less than 200 graduates have been purchasers of our wares in twenty years!" And what wares was the University offering? Chiefly the classics and literature, on which for many years the University has spent \$10,000 a year, while giving \$3,000 to science! "In this practical community of men, hastening to be rich, we have found no sympathy. The classics and literature are excellent for prospective clergymen, and for the few American youths who care to saunter through the pleasant windings of a flowery path. The majority of Americans prefer a less enchanting but more practical way." But public opinion in 1830 forced New York University into the model of an English ecclesiastical college; and the public should be contented with the result.

What then, he continues, should the University do? It should improve what it already had: the literary, the medical, and the scientific departments should be alike encouraged. But, beyond this, it should be "put into relation with the City." New York City is only at the beginnings of its greatness; in twenty years it will be the centre of commerce of the world. The University, if it is to survive, must

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also address its exertions to the commercial and industrial classes, and give them the practical instruction they desire. It should give free instruction in the evening to artisans and mechanics. "I hope that the time is not distant when we shall see the mechanic passing up the steps of the University and depositing his tools behind the lecture-room door. When that comes to pass, you will hear no more of the want of money. The University will then be in fact the university of the City of New York."

It is clear that Chancellor Ferris had at least one adviser who knew the true path to academic success. We shall find, indeed, that to some extent, during his seventeen years of administration, Dr. Ferris was perhaps unconsciously influenced by Draper's suggestions; and was induced to give some encouragement to the scientific department, and to prepare the way for gratuitous instruction.

Sixty-six years later another scientist of distinction, himself a pupil of Dr. Draper, and his successor upon the faculty, John J. Stevenson, of the class of 1863, spoke to the class of 1894 at its twenty-fifth anniversary on his memories of New York University during his own college days. Professor Stevenson was perhaps affected by the natural tendency of old age to look back to the golden age of his youth; but his sympathies were strongly scientific, and it is interesting to contrast his judgment of the University of 1859 with Draper's in 1853.

The College was then very small, [he said]. But all colleges were small, and the general opinion prevailed in the community that one hundred students were about what a faculty wanted, and that any larger number would be a nuisance. The curriculum was certainly very narrow; two things were worth studying, and two only—Latin and Greek. Each one of these subjects had a full professor, and the other things of this world and of the world to come were covered by four men. There were six men in the faculty, but it was without doubt the strongest faculty on this continent at that time, considering its numbers. Johnson was recognized everywhere as a man whose knowledge of Latin was unexcelled on this conti-

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nent. Howard Crosby . . . was known on both sides of the Atlantic. His love for Greek as a living language was infectious and his classes used to jabber Greek in the halls. Loomis was cold as an iceberg—we used to go on tiptoes into his room—but he was a great man. He had already prepared a series of textbooks for use in this country and in Europe; he had laid the foundation of meteorology. Draper, very small physically, but a giant intellectually, was one of the greatest physicists this world has ever known, while as a philosopher he was the most eminent representative of the positive school in this country. You may read his words and his lectures, you may differ very violently in some cases, but you cannot fail to respect the intellect [of the author]. Martin, *facile princeps*, brilliant in intellect, honest as the day is long in the treatment of every subject that came into his hands, a lover of mankind and especially of student mankind, did more than the rest of the faculty put together to form the character of his students. . . . He had nothing to do but teach Philosophy, Ethics, Economics, Logic, and History, and to supervise essay writing and declamation and anything else that happened to be necessary. The course was very narrow, there is no question about that; but let me assure you that to live with these men was an inspiration. The atmosphere of the University was one of study. . . . The honor men in our class were heroes. . . . I have noticed a change in sentiment since; study is not as popular as it was in my day.⁴

These are striking words, especially the praise of Howard Crosby and of Benjamin N. Martin, to come from a pupil of Draper and a devotee of science. To be sure, one senses the exaggeration of the septuagenarian *laudator temporis acti*, and of a pious alumnus of his alma mater. But James Ford Rhodes was at New York University but one year, as a special student, in 1865–66. In 1892 he was still young, and was surely not a “loyal alumnus.” And yet, in his own autobiographical sketch written in that year,⁵ the distinguished historian speaks with remarkable enthusiasm of the teaching of Benjamin Martin, and with admiration of John W. Draper and his son Henry Draper. We may perhaps conclude that Chancellor Ferris enjoyed the services of a

⁴ *Record of the Class of 1894, New York University. 25th Anniversary Class Book.* Compiled by John V. Irwin. New York, 1922, pp. 85–6.

⁵ In M. A. DeW. Howe: *James Ford Rhodes, American Historian*, New York, 1929, p. 19.

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devoted, intelligent, and effective faculty in the University College.

It would be well in passing to speak of the few changes which occurred in the governing faculty during his administration. In 1859 Howard Crosby resigned his professorship in Greek, apparently because of ill-health; but it should be added that later in the same year he accepted the chair of Greek in Rutgers College. There he stayed until 1863, when, having been ordained to the Presbyterian ministry in 1861, he returned to New York as pastor of the Fourth Presbyterian Church. Upon his return to New York he soon accepted election to the Council of New York University. He seems to have retained the peculiar affection of his ex-colleagues on the faculty, and in 1870 was their unanimous candidate for the Chancellorship.

To replace Professor Crosby, the Council in 1859 appointed to the chair of Greek, Henry Martyn Baird, an alumnus of the class of 1850. Son of the Rev. Robert Baird, who for many years lived in France and Switzerland as the agent of an American association designed to help the French Protestants, the new Greek professor was almost as familiar with French as with English, and had perhaps already acquired the deep interest in Huguenot history which was later to bring him fame. After graduation he had spent a year in study at Athens, and a year in Rome; and in 1856 published his first book, on *Modern Greece*. From 1855 to 1859 he had been tutor in classics at Princeton. Henceforth, until 1902, he was to train many a class of New York University undergraduates in Greek, to add his courteous and kindly presence to the faculty, to guide the college through many years of difficulty, and lastly by his five volumes on the history of the Huguenots, to add his name to the small list of American historians who have achieved a lasting reputation in Europe.

Upon Professor Loomis' departure to New Haven, in

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1860, his place was taken by George W. Coakley, who had for fourteen years taught Mathematics at St. James' College in Maryland. He was born in the West Indies in 1814, and was a graduate of Rutgers in the class of 1836. Like Professor Loomis his chief interest seems to have been in Astronomy, and in his later years he contributed freely to astronomical journals. Mr. Coakley was the only member of the faculty, moreover, who enjoyed assistance in his work of instruction. Influenced probably by Professor Draper's suggestions with regard to the advisability of "getting into relations with the City," the Chancellor and faculty in September, 1853, made plans for instruction in Civil Engineering, wholly dormant since Professor Douglass' retirement in 1833. At the same time Professor Loomis had asked for an assistant professor in mathematics; and, accordingly, Richard H. Bull, an alumnus of the class of 1839, who had had experience as a teacher in the University Grammar School, was appointed Professor of Civil Engineering and assistant in mathematics. His career until his retirement in 1884 will be described in the chapter devoted to the history of the College of Engineering. Most of his time, however, was probably given to his work in the College; and his quaint eccentricities and imposing beard diverted many a class of college freshmen.

Until the beginning of the Civil War the University grew slowly but added somewhat to its prestige. After 1857 Columbia College entered into a new period of development, and was rapidly turning from a small and conservative college into an ambitious and expanding university. To meet its competition and justify its own name, New York University was bound to make serious exertion. The University Medical School had been weakened by the retirement of its older professors, but was still in the first rank of existing medical colleges, low though that relative standard was; and it was still a favorite resort of students from

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the Southern States. The University Law School, however, had completely collapsed, and in July, 1856, the resignation of Benjamin F. Butler from his professorship of Law, to which he had been appointed in 1835, called the Council's attention to their failure in this respect. Early in 1858 the Council made a serious effort to revive the Law School, and on May 27, 1858, approved a plan for reopening it. No endowment was, of course, available, and the newly appointed Law faculty, of which Thomas W. Clerke, of the State Supreme Court, and William B. Wedgwood were the only members of more than transitory character, were expected to take all the financial responsibility; each graduate was to pay \$10 for his diploma. The professional schools, however, were soon hard hit by the outbreak of the Civil War.⁶

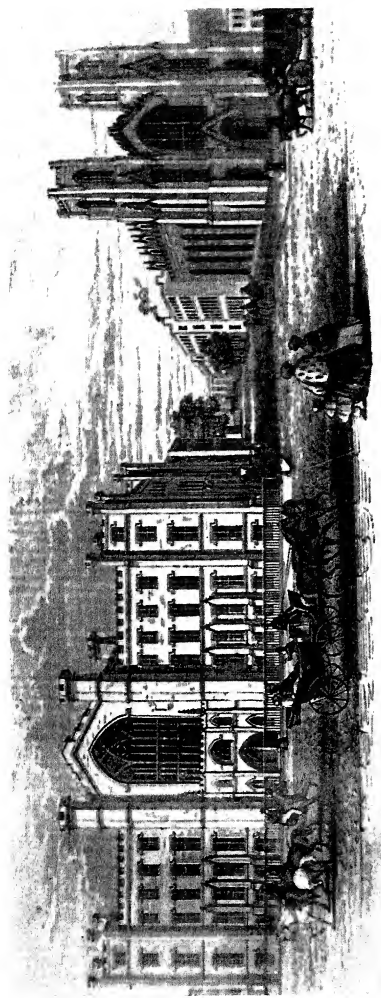
In the University College itself, the most striking changes of the period immediately preceding the Civil War were, again, probably due to John W. Draper's insistence upon the proper recognition of scientific instruction. His colleagues upon the faculty were induced, presumably with some reluctance, to give their consent to the organization of a course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science, for which the study of Greek and Latin should not be required, and on October 25, 1855, the Council approved the new degree; it was first conferred at the commencement of 1857, upon James J. Gillette, who was a few years later to be brevetted major for gallantry at the battle of Chancellorsville. Until 1859 the degree was offered, with very few applicants, to students who "completed three years of study in the various branches of science taught in the institution," with apparently very little organization. In 1860 a scheme of studies was organized, and the requirement was added of the completion of a course in Civil Engineering. Finally, in 1861, it was announced that, in addi-

⁶ Their history will be considered separately in later chapters.

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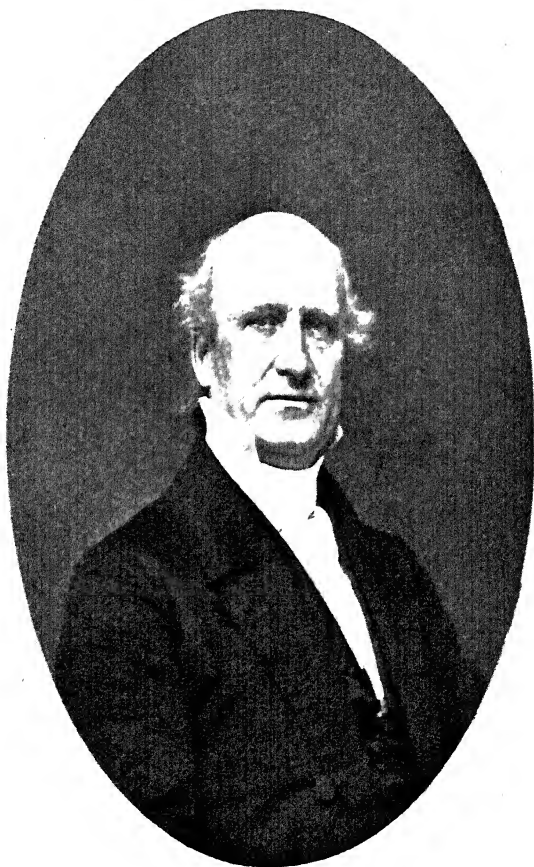
tion to the three years of general study in science (or rather of the regular curriculum of the college with Greek and Latin omitted), the candidate for the baccalaureate in science must pursue a course either in Civil Engineering or in Analytical and Practical Chemistry, and in two modern languages, one of which must be German. For admission to the course, however, the study of the Classics was apparently still required. Although the Chancellor reported to the Council in October, 1862, that the scientific course was growing, and that one-third of the whole undergraduate body was enrolled in it, the evidence from the number of degrees conferred is to the contrary for a good many years to come.

It will have been noted above that in 1861 the college recognized the existence of a course in Analytical and Practical Chemistry. For some years this course was Professor Draper's particular hobby. Its origins are somewhat obscure, but seem to date from the first years of the new administration. Already in January, 1854, the Chancellor reported that Professor Draper was giving instruction at the Medical College, during the evening, in "Practical Chemistry"; but there is no record of enrollment in the course until 1858. Presumably up to that time such students as pursued the course were considered as private pupils of Dr. Draper. In November, 1858, he reported to the Council that his course in "Analytical and Practical Chemistry," still given at the Medical College, was a great success, that nineteen students were enrolled, and that he hoped the course would eventually develop into a School of Mines. At the same time he requested that his son, John Christopher Draper, who was his assistant in the course, should be appointed a professor in the University. The younger Draper was his eldest son, born in 1835, and a graduate of the University Medical College in the class of 1857. He had recently, his father said, studied in several European



WASHINGTON SQUARE IN 1850

On the left, the University Building. On the right, the Washington Square branch of the South Dutch Reformed Church, of which Chancellor Mathews was pastor from 1835 to 1840



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Third Chancellor

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laboratories. The Council received the request with approval, voted to confer a special diploma on those students who completed the course, and elected John C. Draper professor of Analytical and Practical Chemistry. It need not, perhaps, be added that the University thereby contracted no financial liability, for the new professor was to be entirely dependent upon his fees for compensation. Four diplomas were conferred in 1859 upon graduates of the course.

Now, in 1861, as we have seen, the University College made the completion of this course an alternative with Civil Engineering for the bachelor's degree in science. During the Civil War interest in the course seems to have declined; in 1864 John C. Draper, in any case, served as surgeon in the 12th New York Regiment. Upon his return, new attention was given to the organization of the course; and an interesting combination was made. The three-year scientific course in the college, plus one year in the Chemical Course, continued to earn the B.S. degree. In addition, a combination of a full Medical course plus two years in Chemistry, would earn a degree of Bachelor of Philosophy. Finally, a student who had received an A.B. or B.S. degree (or an M.D. degree with a "certificate of literary attainments" from a college), and then pursued successfully two years in Analytical and Practical Chemistry, would receive the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Thus it came about that Dr. Draper's Chemical School was the first department of New York University specifically to organize graduate instruction leading to a doctor's degree. It should be added that only five Ph.D. degrees were thus conferred, between 1867 and 1872, and that, of these five, one was given, in 1867, to John J. Stevenson, later for many years professor of Geology in the University. After 1867, however, Dr. Draper's interest in the School of Analytical and Practical Chemistry seems to have lessened, perhaps be-

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cause of his growing age, and after 1872 the School disappears from the annual catalogue.

Even with the addition of the scientific course, however, the University College did not appreciably increase its numbers; and, although Dr. Stevenson said in 1919, as we have seen, that in his student days a college of about one hundred students was considered large enough, the faculty of 1860 was manifestly worried at the failure to attract more students. It may be admitted that in part their anxiety was due to their own poor remuneration. Even after 1854 they continued to be poorly paid. After 1857 the University was unable to find a Sunday tenant for the great chapel, which had until then been an important item in the budget; with the steady movement of the population northward, Washington Square had already become too far downtown to be a desirable location for a church. Mr. Van Schaick's promised endowment did not take form; and increased enrollment seemed the only alternative method to increase salaries, which in 1860 amounted to only \$1,425 for the year for each professor. But in 1860 the tendency of American colleges seemed to be in the direction of providing free tuition. In March, 1860, the University College faculty pointed out to the Council that Girard College in Philadelphia, Hobart College, and the University of Michigan had definitely taken the step of abolishing tuition fees, and that in New York City itself the Free Academy was preparing to provide free instruction of collegiate grade. Even Columbia College had reduced its tuition fee to \$50 a year, while the University College continued to charge \$90; and "Columbia College has the prestige of greater age, older historical associations, a much larger body of alumni, and above all a larger body of professors, a larger library, and larger collections of all kinds for the illustration of their courses of instruction." There was every reason to fear, the faculty continued, that such competition would in a few

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years deprive New York University of any undergraduate students at all. There seemed but one remedy: to secure an endowment of at least \$20,000 a year, and then to make tuition in the University College free.

These arguments apparently convinced Chancellor Ferris; but the Council was slow to act, and after the panic of 1857 the hope for endowment disappeared, not to emerge again until the latter years of the Civil War. The great increase in the cost of living which resulted from the inflation of currency during the War worked many hardships upon the underpaid professors; in December, 1863, they appealed for relief to the Council, asking that their salaries be increased to \$2,000 a year. In no other similar institution, they said, were professorial salaries so low.

One consolation, perhaps, did the faculty enjoy in these years of stress and discomfort. On October 12, 1860, on the day after his arrival in New York, the Prince of Wales made a formal visit to the halls of New York University. It would be interesting to know why he visited the University and not some older and richer institution; but, if we may trust the record of *Harper's Weekly*, he and his suite "visited the New York University, the Women's Library, the Astor Library, the Cooper Institute, and the Free Academy." "A large party of ladies were especially invited [to the University] to meet the Prince," reports the *Herald*, "and all gentleman applicants for admission not officers of the institution were strictly excluded; and long before the hour set forth on the notes of invitation, the chapel of the institution was literally crammed. . . . Such a waving of feathers and fluttering of ribbons and rustling of silks, and agitation of fans was never before witnessed within the sacred walls of the Chapel. . . . Within the main door, the students, in academic costumes, were lined in double files stretching across the narrow hall, and on through the corridor to the Chapel door. As the Prince advanced, the

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students respectfully saluted him by uncovering their heads, but no other demonstration whatever was made." Within the Chapel, addresses of welcome were made by Chancellor Ferris, by Henry Van Schaick (son of Myndert) for the Council, and by S. F. B. Morse for the faculty.⁷ Mr. Van Schaick read a resolution by the Council, "that, as we are bound to England by the threefold cord of ancestry, of language, and the King James Bible, we feel we are brethren, and may claim it as a right to rejoice in every testimony of respect paid by the sovereign people of this land to the representative and heir of England's model Queen." Let us hope that "Baron Renfrew," as he was meticulously addressed by all who had the honor of meeting him, was as edified by the proceedings as the reporters, and perhaps the faculty and students, were. Perhaps he was still thrilled by the splendors of Dr. Mathews' Gothic Chapel, and by the eloquence of the Council and Faculty when "in the evening he attended the grand ball given in his honor by the citizens of New York at the Academy of Music, which was a magnificent and gorgeous affair, and but for the accident in the falling of the floor, would have been a complete success and a great credit to our American neighbours in that locality."⁸

⁷ On this interesting occasion Professor Morse was perhaps reminded of an earlier function at which he had come in intimate contact with a young gentleman of some later distinction in European history, for John S. C. Abbott in his *History of Napoleon III*, Boston, 1869, page 127, quotes Professor Morse in the following words: "In the year 1837 I was one of a club of gentlemen in New York . . . which held weekly meetings at each other's houses in rotation. The club consisted of such men as Chancellor Kent, Albert Gallatin, Peter Augustus Jay, Bishop Wainwright, the President and Professors of Columbia College, the Chancellor and Professors of the New York City University. . . . At one of the reunions of the club the place of meeting was at Chancellor Kent's. On assembling the Chancellor introduced us to Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, a young man, pale, contemplative, and somewhat reserved. At supper he sat on the right of the Chancellor at the head of the table. Mr. Gallatin was opposite the Chancellor at the foot of the table, and I was on his right. I drew the attention of Mr. Gallatin to the stranger, observing that I did not trace any resemblance in his features to his world-renowned uncle, yet that his forehead indicated great intellect. 'Yes,' replied Mr. Gallatin, 'there is a great deal in that head of his; but he has a strange fancy. He has the impression that he will be one day Emperor of the French! Can you conceive of anything more absurd?'"

⁸ *The Tour of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales through British America and the United States, By a British Canadian* [Henry J. Morgan], Montreal, 1860, p. 203.

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It must not be supposed that the Council had been deaf to the appeals of the faculty for relief and endowment. Since 1838 William Curtis Noyes had been a devoted member of that body. He had been Mr. Van Schaick's chief assistant in the campaign of 1853; and it is probable that Mr. Van Schaick, who was now near death, advised him again in the present crisis. We can, therefore, imagine the satisfaction and pride with which Mr. Noyes announced to the Council on October 19, 1864, that Mr. John Taylor Johnston, of the class of 1839, vice-president of the Council since 1851, had endowed the professorship of Latin with \$25,000, and that Mr. John Cleve Green, the president of the Council, had given an equal sum for the endowment of the chair of Mathematics. It was doubly pleasant that these benefactions were made before the death of Mr. Noyes himself, in December, 1864, and of Myndert Van Schaick, who died just a year later.

Still more agreeable news was not slow in transpiring. On October 18, 1866, Loring Andrews, the president of the Shoe and Leather Bank, gave to the University \$100,000. He stipulated that \$25,000 should be used to endow a professorship of Philosophy, and a like sum for a chair of Evidences of Christianity; \$15,000 apiece for chairs of Greek and of Political Science, \$10,000 for a fund for laboratory equipment, and \$10,000 for annual prizes. Within a few months, George Griswold added \$10,000 to the chair of Political Science; and William E. Dodge and James Brown together gave \$10,000 more for the chair of Greek. Thus, within two years, six professorships had been endowed with \$25,000 each; and although the faculty's estimate of a necessary endowment of \$20,000 a year had not been achieved, there was a happy augury for the future.

It is meet that in passing we should speak briefly of the University's benefactors. Mr. John T. Johnston was the son of John Johnston, one of the original shareholders of

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the University and a member of the Council from 1835 to 1845. The Johnston house at No. 7, Washington Square North, completed in 1833, was for many years a focus of friends of the University.⁹ The younger Johnston, after graduation from it in 1839, and after attending the Yale Law School, had taken over his father's place on the University Council. Since 1848, he had been the president of the Central Railroad of New Jersey. Mr. John Cleve Green, born in 1800, had in his youth entered the employ of Nathaniel L. and George Griswold, China merchants, and from 1826 to 1833 made an annual trip to Canton as supercargo. In 1833 he entered the famous firm of Russell and Company in Canton, and remained in China until 1839, when he retired, with an ample fortune. In 1841 he married a daughter of George Griswold, 3rd., and was by this connection brought into the Council of New York University, of which he became president in 1851. Mr. Loring Andrews seems to have had little association with the University before 1866; and it would be pleasant to ascertain the source of his interest in that year. He was a very successful leather merchant, and, as we have seen, president of the Shoe and Leather Bank. Of peculiar fitness was the fact that his residence was the graystone house, bought from Mr. George B. Butler in 1864, later the residence of Chancellor MacCracken, and to-day the Graduate Hall of the University. Two streets on University Heights, Loring Place and Andrews Avenue, perpetuate his name.

These generous gifts very appreciably improved the material reward of the faculty; the rents collected from the University building increased during the post-war prosperity, and the professors' salaries were increased from less than \$1,500 in 1864 to about \$3,000 in 1869. But, relieved as they were from personal hardships, they had the more

⁹ Emily Johnston De Forest: *John Johnston of New York, Merchant*, New York, privately printed, 1909.

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reason for anxiety about the college itself. With the continued tendency to lower the cost of tuition in neighboring colleges, the University College remained stable or even declined in numbers. In the face of the general demand for a broadening and modernizing of the curriculum, common to many colleges of the time, but symbolized by the election of President Eliot at Harvard in 1869, the curriculum of the University College had scarcely changed since 1832. The teaching of Modern Languages, of Literature, of History, and of Political Science was in a most rudimentary stage. Professor Draper had received certain encouragement in the development of scientific instruction; but scarcely a step had been taken in any other progressive direction. On the part of the faculty there was apparently a conviction of the necessity of making tuition free, and, at the same time, of enlarging the course of study.

In 1865, the Rev. Howard Crosby had, we have seen, returned to New York, and entered the University Council. It was he who from 1867 to 1870 warmly advocated these two changes to the Council; and he did this, apparently, with the entire sympathy of his friends and former colleagues on the faculty. In November, 1867, a committee of the Council of which Dr. Crosby was chairman recommended that tuition fees in the University College be abolished, and that at the same time the professors of Modern Languages be paid regular salaries, instead of fees, and become members of the "governing faculty." To make these two changes, Dr. Crosby stated, only \$75,000 more endowment would be needed. The Council was not prepared to make such radical changes at once; but in January, 1868, they agreed to offer fifty free scholarships, to be divided equally among candidates recommended by the boards of education of Brooklyn and of Hudson County, New Jersey. As a result the classes entering in 1868 and 1869 increased slightly in size.

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By the terms of the Andrews-Griswold endowment, of course, a professor of Political Science was to be elected. For two years Dean Pomeroy of the Law Faculty gave instruction in that subject; but in December, 1869, the Rev. Ezra Hall Gillett, Yale 1841, a Presbyterian clergyman favorably known for his recently published life of John Huss, was elected "George Griswold Professor of Political Science." Dr. Gillett, moreover, was charged with instruction in History and Political Economy.

Dr. Ferris was now seventy-two years of age. He had been Chancellor for over seventeen years, and apparently had the ambition of rounding out twenty years of service, and of a service which might well be a source of pride and satisfaction to himself and his friends. It is clear, however, that certain members of the Council and of the faculty felt that he was no longer vigorous enough to pursue the policy of growth and development which the spirit of 1870 demanded. To John Taylor Johnston was committed the task of suggesting to the Chancellor that the time for retirement had come; and on July 18, 1870, Dr. Ferris presented his resignation to the Council, in a document so well worth reading that it is given in full in the appendix. The Chancellor aptly, but with a certain pathos, expressed his pride in a work well done, but one which had cost him great distress and occasionally despair. To have found a university burdened with debt and wrecked with internal dissension, and to leave it free from debt, with an endowment of \$175,000, and in enjoyment of peace and respect, was indeed no idle accomplishment. He was amazed, he said, that the University had lived through its past struggles at all. He was rejoiced to think that his successor would be relieved from the "horrible work of begging money to pay past debts, and, incidentally, the means of paying his own salary. He hoped that he would be relieved also from the unscholarly work of supervising the rental of apartments and the repair of the

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building." He could only wonder, however, what would be the result of the policy of free tuition in the College, which was now to be adopted; for he recognized the difficulties which stood in the path of a metropolitan university not supported by municipal funds. We may confess that, in spite of his age, Dr. Ferris was perhaps more foresighted than his younger and more enthusiastic colleagues. It is pleasant to conclude this sketch of his administration by adding that the Council paid him an excellent pension until his death in 1873.

One man was clearly indicated for his successor, in the minds of all the faculty, at least. Howard Crosby was esteemed by his ex-colleagues for his scholarship and his vigorous personality; to the faculty he symbolized a new age of promise and growth. In September, 1870, the faculty voted that the Council should be informed that Dr. Crosby was their unanimous choice for the chancellorship. The Council probably needed little encouragement; and, on October 11, 1870, he was elected to that office, the first alumnus of the University to become its executive head.

CHAPTER VI

CHANCELLOR CROSBY'S ADMINISTRATION

1870-1881

DURING the summer of 1870, and before the election of the new Chancellor, a small committee of the Council, of which Dr. Crosby himself was the guiding spirit, had matured plans for the proposed development of the University's activities. The committee entered into its deliberations with the conviction on the part of the chairman that

it is necessary to extend the existing system of collegiate instruction and to harmonize it more completely with the wants of the public. It is not proposed in any way to diminish the efficiency of the course in Science and Letters as heretofore pursued, but rather to make additions thereto. There are very many persons, especially in a city like New York, which is devoted so much to practical pursuits, who feel the desirability of a special education, adapted to their pursuits, and differing from that of a purely literary nature. . . . It is for the sake of satisfying this desire that many of the leading American colleges are taking measures of a kind similar to those contemplated [by New York University], are establishing schools of a practical character, founding laboratories and observatories, and are receiving very large gifts from enlightened and liberal men, to enable them to carry out these purposes. New York University has been for many years occupied in movements of a preparatory kind in the same direction. It has established various schools, such as those of practical chemistry, civil engineering, etc. Now, however, the time has arrived when consistency should be given to these separate efforts, and when they should be combined in a common system. A young man entering college has a general idea of the course in life to which he is to direct himself. . . . It is obvious that he should have the opportunity of selecting such studies as may best suit his end.¹

¹ These words, probably written by Dr. Crosby, are quoted from the Circular of the University issued in August, 1871.

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To these ends, the committee reported to the Council in October, 1870, the advisability of reforming the University along many lines, notably the following: (1) immediate steps should be taken to locate the meteorological observatory of the United States at the University, to provide the requisite apparatus for which \$75,000 must be obtained; (2) after the current academic year, instruction in the University College should be given gratuitously to all who should pass the entrance examinations, "in order that a more beneficent character and a more far-reaching usefulness might be obtained by the University"; (3) two courses of study should be provided by the University College, a classical course of four years, and a scientific course of three years, the latter to be independent of the former, and not subordinated to it; (4) the Grammar School should be at once abolished, as it conflicted in many ways with the best interests of the University; (5) fellowships for graduate study should replace the existing system of prizes for undergraduates; (6) the salaries of the professors should be increased to four thousand dollars; and (7) the Council should at once endeavor to raise the sum of \$200,000 to accomplish these purposes.

The Council listened with at least passive sympathy to these proposals, and appointed Charles Butler, James Brown, William M. Vermilye, and the president of the Council, John Cleve Green, to undertake the raising of the necessary endowment.²

Thereupon Dr. Crosby withdrew from the meeting, and Mr. William Allen Butler, an alumnus of the class of 1843, son of Benjamin F. Butler, the first professor of Law in the University, himself a lawyer of distinction, and best known as the author of the satirical *vers de société*, "Nothing to

² There exists an oral tradition, unsubstantiated by any written record, that Dr. Crosby expected that Mr. Green, who had, as we know, endowed the chair of Mathematics in 1867, could now be counted on for a much greater benefaction.

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Wear," reported that Dr. Crosby had been requested to accept the chancellorship. He had expressed a devoted attachment to the University—"this interest in the welfare of his Alma Mater was as natural to him as his breathing of the air"—but, he said, the congregation of his church, the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian, was most reluctant to accept a resignation which he was, moreover, unwilling to give. Mr. Butler's committee had therefore offered him the chancellorship on the understanding that "Dr. Crosby was to give to the general oversight and administration of the affairs of the University only such time and attention as might be compatible with the discharge of his pastoral duties." Mr. Butler was persuaded that this arrangement "afforded the best, if not the only practical solution of the situation. It was consistent with the original design of the office; it accorded with the strongly expressed wish of the faculty; it would be acceptable to alumni;" and, he believed, "the friends of the University would recognize the wisdom of securing at once the services of one who by his scholarship as well as by the deserved public esteem in which he was held, was so well qualified to be the executive head of a seat of learning."

There can be but little doubt that in many respects Mr. Butler was correct in his judgment. Few men, in the New York of his day, enjoyed higher public esteem than Dr. Crosby, who occupied a place in his native city strikingly like that of Phillips Brooks at the same time in Boston; no man was more respected and admired by the faculty and alumni of the University. Whether, however, in an age when President Eliot was reforming Harvard, when Daniel C. Gilman was organizing Johns Hopkins, and when James McCosh was vitalizing Princeton, a university with hopes of increasing influence should have ventured to entrust its direction to a chancellor who could give to its affairs "only such time as he could spare from his pastoral duties" is an-

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other question which the immediate future was to answer in an unexpected way. The Council accepted Mr. Butler's recommendation, however; and, as we have already seen, Howard Crosby was elected Chancellor on October 11, 1870. He accepted, declaring that "to superintend the interests of the University meant, he believed, to put himself into magnetic relations with all its departments, to conceive, accept, and mature plans for its development, to represent it judiciously before the community, and to contribute to the sympathetic and harmonious workings of the Council and the Faculties. The other specified duties of the Chancellor are mere matters of routine, and demand little of his time."³ The historian cannot but be struck by the similarity between Dr. Crosby's ideas and those of the professors of 1838 who protested against Chancellor Mathews' excessive activity. In justice to the new Chancellor, we must add that he insisted he could not serve as Chancellor without a definite understanding from the Council that at least \$200,000 endowment should be provided; without it, no man could do justice to himself as Chancellor. He reminded the Council that by the statutes of the University a Chancellor was elected for a term of four years; and he regarded his election, in spite of precedents to the contrary, as for that term only.

Dr. Crosby was inaugurated on November 17, 1870, the ceremonies taking place not in the University building, but at the Y. M. C. A. Hall on Fourth Avenue at Twenty-third Street, probably because of the Chancellor's close relations with that organization. It is interesting to note that since his election he had been formulating further ideas upon the meaning of a university. In his letter of acceptance there is no reference to the development of postgraduate instruction. Now in his inaugural speech he dwells particularly

³ It should be stated that Dr. Crosby expected no remuneration for his services, although he was given \$1,000 a year.

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upon it. "If the University scheme were fulfilled we should see our students pursuing the higher studies of Language, Philosophy, and Mathematics, and following these studies to their remotest lengths in comparative philology, metaphysics, psychology, and literature." The colleges of America are, even the best of them, he continues, but high schools for general elementary instruction. "We must be content for awhile to keep our college a mere academic department; but soon it will be different, and we shall be able to elevate the department of Letters and Arts to its proper level. Already a few, here and there, known as resident graduates, mark the beginnings of this consummation."

During the first year of his administration Dr. Crosby was content, in consultation with the faculty, to mature his plans, and to await the tacitly promised endowment. In December, 1870, he told the Council that he could secure \$36,000 from the alumni, if the Council would secure \$200,000. With this total endowment his plans for reform could be properly carried out. At the moment the Chancellor particularly solicited enough endowment to create a chair of English. Mr. Charles Butler was obliged to reply that the endowment had not yet been provided, but that the Council pledged itself to provide \$12,000 for added current expenses during the coming year. It was also hoped that Loring Andrews, and the other benefactors of 1867 would soon consent to convert their gifts into funds applicable for general endowment. With these rather vague promises, Dr. Crosby began his program. A considerable increase in student enrollment in the autumn of 1870, and promise of an even larger increase in 1871 encouraged him and the faculty.

The first requisite was the broadening of the curriculum by the addition of new teachers to the faculty. As we have seen, Dr. Ezra H. Gillett was already present to give instruction in History, Economics, and Political Science. The

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second son of John W. Draper, Henry Draper, had for several years been assisting his father and brother at the Medical School and in the School of Chemistry. He had already made notable progress in the field of solar photography and spectroscopy, in which he was soon to become an outstanding figure; but he was by profession a physician. Dr. Crosby now brought him to the University College as professor of Physiology; it was generally understood that Henry Draper's main ambition was ultimately to succeed his father as professor of Chemistry. His advent brought to the University College a scientist of high reputation, a teacher of marked ability, and an associate deeply admired by his colleagues.

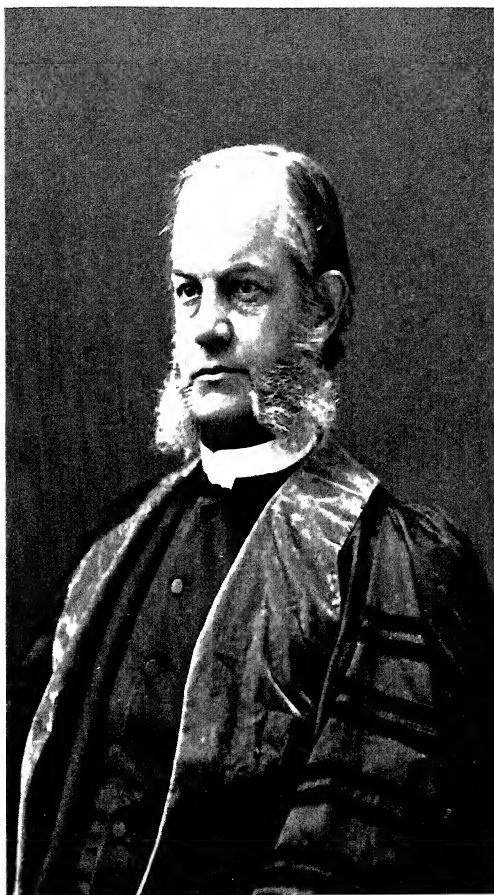
Dr. John W. Draper had for many years given a certain amount of instruction in Geology. To relieve him of this burden, and still further to strengthen the scientific department, Dr. Crosby invited the return from West Virginia University of John J. Stevenson. We know him already as a graduate of the University College in the class of 1863, who had pursued postgraduate studies with Professor Draper in the School of Chemistry and received a doctorate of philosophy from the University in 1867. He had then spent two years in Nevada, as a mining engineer; and, after three years' teaching of Chemistry in West Virginia, now returned as professor of Geology to his alma mater. In the annals of scientific instruction at New York University, few events have been more significant than his appointment. At the time of his death, in 1924, he was generally known as one of the greatest American geologists; and his fine ability as a teacher was recognized by many classes of undergraduates.

Since its foundation the University College had provided instruction in modern foreign languages, but only as an "extra" not included in the regular curriculum, for which special fees were charged. Now that, on the one hand, a

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distinct scientific course was to be organized, from which the ancient languages were excluded, and, on the other hand, tuition was to be abolished, it seemed advisable to provide a regular place in the College for French and German. In general, moreover, the experience of the faculty had been that natives of France or Germany were not well fitted to understand the American student. To begin with the autumn of 1871, therefore, the Chancellor secured the appointment of Charles Carroll, recently returned from a long sojourn in Europe, as professor of French and German. A classmate at Harvard of President Eliot, Mr. Carroll, who was a gentleman of semi-Bohemian habits, with a taste for journalism, seems to have made a welcome addition to the faculty.

The academic year 1871-72, therefore, began under distinctly cheerful auspices. The salaries of the full professors were increased from \$3,000 to \$3,500, and the entering freshman class was larger than any since the year 1846. When the year began, the University College found itself by action of the Council, with the approval of the faculty, divided into two faculties, that of Arts and that of Sciences. For admission to the first department, the traditional requirements of Mathematics, Latin, Greek, Geography, and History were maintained, and the four year curriculum in the Classics, Philosophy, Rhetoric, and a smattering of science, leading to the degree of A.B. was left unchanged. For entrance to the second department, the requirement of Classics was now abolished, and a three-year curriculum, like the A.B. course with Classics again omitted, led to the degree of B.S. In spite of the disparity in the length of the two courses, Chancellor Crosby stated that the chief object of the separation into two departments was to remove the stigma of inferiority which was attached to the scientific course as being, in a way, less thorough than the classical course. As a matter of practice, it is apparently true that the



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entrance requirements in Mathematics for the B.S. course were more severe than those for the A.B. course, and that in general candidates for the B.S. degree were made to take a "preparatory year" at the University, in Mathematics, Rhetoric, and Modern Languages, so that in reality the scientific course extended over four years.

Dr. Crosby's first report to the Council, made in October, 1871, was pervaded with hopefulness. "The College to-day is very different from what it has ever been before," he said. Faculty and students alike were greatly encouraged; the School of Science was enthusiastic. The Grammar School, which had never been a feeder for the College, was gone, and its noisy schoolboys no longer made the corridors a pandemonium. Mr. Loring Andrews and his associates in the endowment of 1867 had consented to waive the terms of their gifts, which could now be used for general endowment. For the next year, the University could offer three graduate fellowships, of \$300, \$200, and \$100. He was proud that it had been possible to make so many improvements for only \$12,000 additional. The University was, he said, on the flood-wave of repute and popularity. The Council must surely welcome the opportunity to ensure the permanence of this flood-tide by promptly providing the necessary endowment of \$200,000. And, he concluded, "we are particularly proud that we are providing free education. We are setting an example which will from necessity be followed by all the higher seminaries of the land." Chancellor Crosby, we must confess, if he had been a very wise man, would have refrained from rash prophecy!

During the winter of 1871-72, at Dr. Crosby's suggestion, the faculty attempted to secure still more favorable public attention by a series of free public lectures in the evening, given in the University chapel. All of the faculty, except Professor Bull, gave at least one lecture; and one outsider was invited, Whitelaw Reid, who most appropri-

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ately spoke upon Journalism. The distinguished publicist, were he alive to-day, would probably endorse his words uttered in 1871. "No separate school [of Journalism] is likely now, or soon, to be founded for such a course. But more than one college . . . has been considering whether such studies might not be appropriately combined into a special department, which would at least command as large attendance as many now enjoying the support of our best institutions."

But the year 1872-73 did not begin with so much enthusiasm. In his report made to the Council on November 7, 1872, Dr. Crosby with a trace of bitterness remarked that not a dollar of endowment had been provided, and that of the \$12,000 pledged for current expenses only \$8,000 had been supplied. The professors' salaries had, therefore, not been fully paid, the scientific apparatus needed had not been provided, and there was no provision available for offering graduate fellowships. With a pardonable pessimism, he added: "I foresee the utter ruin of our hopes, and the speedy loss of our prosperity unless the financial embarrassment is promptly met by the Council. The professors will become discouraged, and students will fear that our promises are vain. . . . Shall we lose the golden moment to secure in permanence all that we have gained? The University must advance or retrograde; and a retrograde movement now is nothing short of ruin."

To this appeal, the only immediate answer of the Council was a resolution authorizing the Treasurer to sell \$100,000 of United States bonds, in which most of the endowment was invested, in order to purchase other bonds which should yield a higher return. The Treasurer soon transferred the whole amount into bonds of the Central Railroad of New Jersey, which at that moment yielded 7½ percent, but soon were to yield nothing at all!

At last, in April, 1873, Mr. Charles Butler reported to

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the Council on what the committee on endowment had achieved. Mr. John C. Green, he stated, had proposed to subscribe \$80,000, or possibly even \$120,000, with the proviso, however, that the rest of the \$200,000 required should be raised. And, Mr. Butler reported, efforts made both within and without the Council to secure the rest of the subscription had entirely failed; so that Mr. Green's subscription was annulled.

If we may trust the memory of Professor Stevenson, who made in 1912 a memorandum of his remembrance of these events, Mr. Green insisted that Mr. John T. Johnston and his friends should supply the rest of the endowment; but Mr. Johnston refused, so he himself told Dr. Stevenson, to make a contribution on such terms, asserting that Mr. Green should make his gift without conditions. In any case, Mr. Green was permanently alienated by the failure of his project; he resigned from the Council afterward, and, before his death in 1875, transferred all his interests to Princeton University, which was most generously assisted by his benefactions.

Chancellor Crosby was, it may well be imagined, rendered desperate by the failure of his hopes. The optimism of 1870 turned to gloom in 1873. On June 5 of that year he presented to the Council his resignation as Chancellor, to take effect at the end of his four year term, in 1874. He had accepted the office, he said, with the distinct understanding that the Council would support him. It had failed to do so; the University must abandon its plan for growth, contract itself to an ordinary school, and utterly lose the prestige of its late advance. On the same day the faculty of the University College sent to the Council a petition that means be found to prevent the Chancellor's retirement. The professors were constrained, they said, to express their very high appreciation of his work, and of the constancy of his attention to the best interests of the University.

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During the year 1873-74 nothing was accomplished in the way of endowment; and the University contracted a debt of \$4,000. The Chancellor, however, yielded to the pleas of the faculty and to those of the Council, which begged him to continue *nominally* as a favor to his alma mater. Dr. Crosby, perhaps unwisely, consented to stay on temporarily, provided that the Council would subscribe \$6,000 for the coming year. During the next two years the financial situation grew steadily worse, until, in the summer of 1876, it had been necessary to borrow nearly \$25,000 to pay the accumulated deficits. Mr. Morris K. Jesup, the treasurer, then decided that the situation required desperate remedies.

On July 20, 1876, each member of the faculty received from Mr. Jesup a rather ingenuous letter.* "You are aware," it said, "that the expenses of the Institution are greater than the income. This deficiency has for years been supplemented by subscriptions from members of the Council; but nevertheless a debt of about \$25,000 has accumulated. The Finance Committee feel the embarrassment they labor under in making any proposition to curtail the usefulness of the University by reducing the professors' chairs. Everything in and about the University, except finance, was never in a more prosperous condition [!]. Too much praise cannot be given to our honored Chancellor for the time and attention he has given." But, in spite of this almost flawless prosperity, Mr. Jesup continued, it was necessary to balance the budget for the year 1876-77; accordingly from the last quarter of each professor's salary would be deducted, *pro rata*, enough to prevent a deficit. Then, the letter concluded, the Council would make an effort to pay the debt and increase the endowment.

The faculty met on July 25 to consider the letter. They

* The copy received by Professor Stevenson is preserved in the Library of the University.

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protested that the debt arose chiefly from structural changes made in the building,⁵ while the Council apparently placed the blame upon the faculty. Nevertheless, in a spirit of self-sacrifice, they consented to Mr. Jesup's plan with a hope of speedy relief. The full professors' salaries in fact, for 1876-77, dropped from \$3,500 to \$2,625.

Mr. Jesup, we have seen, had told the faculty that the Council would make an effort to pay off the debt. In October, 1876, the effort was made, and it proved to be a proposal to mortgage the University building for \$30,000! The Chancellor protested vigorously against the proposal. Why did he not reread to the Council the warning read to them in 1854 by Myndert Van Schaick? His protest was vain; and in January, 1877, the Council authorized the treasurer to execute the mortgage. Already in December, 1876, the Council had, moreover, appointed a committee to study the situation, and make further suggestions for retrenchment; and there were already a few members in the Council who suggested the necessity of suspending the existence of the University College. That committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. William A. Butler, reported in February, 1877, that no changes in the college be made before June, 1878. Such a negative report was not very encouraging to faculty and students.

Then, in April, 1877, came the most discouraging news of all: that the Central Railroad of New Jersey had suspended payment on its bonds. Dr. Crosby learned that the University would thus lose \$7,700 a year. At this moment, apparently, the Chancellor lost his last vestige of confidence; for it was Dr. Crosby himself who proposed to the Council on April 5 that the University College should be closed and that only the departments of medicine and law

⁵ This statement was to some extent true. The Council in 1874 authorized the cutting up of the Gothic chapel into small rooms, in order to increase the rents. But the expense greatly exceeded the estimates; and the smaller rooms were not rented.

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should be continued. At his suggestion, indeed, a committee was appointed on the same day to consider the advisability of such a step. The suggestion was made that the suspension need only be temporary, and that the existing endowment could be left to accumulate for a term of years.

To this committee the faculty made vigorous and immediate protest. The College, they said, was never larger, the discipline better, or the standard of scholarship higher. The annual income, they understood, now that the Jersey Central bonds were unproductive, was about \$22,000, and the cost of overhead maintenance about \$6,000. They were willing temporarily to subsist by dividing the balance of \$16,000, in the hope of a later improvement. The president of the Council, John T. Johnston, and Mr. Jesup, the treasurer, approved the acceptance of the offer of the professors; and the Council extended its thanks to the faculty. The College was allowed to continue its feverish existence; but the salary of the full professors in 1877-78 dropped to \$1,925.

The question of suspension, however, was not allowed to be dropped, in spite of the continued self-sacrifice of the faculty. Perhaps Dr. Crosby had become sincerely convinced that it was wiser to kill the College quickly, rather than to let it die a lingering death; perhaps Mr. Jesup looked upon it as a business that had failed. In any case, the Council again considered the suspension in February, 1878, and appointed a committee of nine to settle the unhappy affair. On March 25, 1878, the committee reported they had again consulted the faculty; and on this occasion had found support for suspension in the faculty. Professor John W. Draper now believed that the University College should be closed. He guaranteed that, with existing funds and without further subscription, he could improve the School of Science, and provide suitable apparatus. He ventured this guarantee, he said, only because of his experience in

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organizing the Medical College in 1841. The rest of the faculty were still willing to continue as they were, on reduced salaries. Dr. Crosby presented three alternatives: close the whole College and accumulate the funds; close the College and establish a postgraduate school with the funds; or accept Dr. Draper's suggestion of an enlarged School of Science. Five members of the Council committee, including two alumni of the University, William R. Martin, A.B. 1845 (the Secretary of the Council) and D. B. St. John Roosa, M.D. 1860, recommended the suspension of the College of Arts and Sciences in June, 1878; and the establishment of some sort of self-sustaining postgraduate work, until the funds had accumulated sufficiently to sustain all departments of the University. Four members of the committee, President Johnston, William A. Butler, A.B. 1843, George H. Moore, A.B. 1842 (the distinguished librarian of the Lenox Library), and Dr. John Hall (afterwards fifth Chancellor) dissented from the majority report. After vigorous discussion it was agreed to invite the faculty to appear at a Council meeting on April 7, 1878; after their withdrawal the matter would be decided.

On that day occurred an historic scene in the annals of the University. Eight members of the joint faculty of Arts and Sciences appeared in the Council room, while Professor Baird read their emphatic protest against the closing of the College. Their entering class had 60 members, they said, and they would venture to compare the education of their graduating class favorably with that of any college in the country. The faculty could continue to exist temporarily on the meagre salaries they were receiving; and there was a distinct probability that the Jersey Central bonds would soon be productive again.

After the faculty withdrew, there was apparently a warm debate in the Council; but finally, upon the motion of Charles Butler it was voted again to accept the offer of the

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faculty and to set aside the unpaid coupons of the defaulting railroad, for the future use of the professors. And so the College again was given permission to continue its agitated existence.

It is needless to add that it was impossible to conceal these difficulties from the public ear, and that, as in 1833, 1839, and 1846, the newspapers were replete with vigorous attacks upon the moribund University. Nor is it necessary to explain that the inevitable result was a rapid decline in applications of students for admission. Parents were not inclined to send their sons to a college which was apparently about to close from month to month. In the autumn of 1880 the college had shrunk to half its size in 1874; there were in all only 79 undergraduates⁶ enrolled.

The academic year 1878-79 was the worst, however, from the professors' point of view; in that year their salaries shrank to \$1,660. In the fall of 1879 the Jersey Central was reorganized and resumed payment upon its bonds, so that for 1879-80 the professors received \$2,625. Early in 1880, encouraged perhaps by this slight amelioration in finance, Chancellor Crosby made one last desperate effort to save his administration from complete collapse. It had apparently been suggested to him that ex-Governor Edwin D. Morgan was benevolently inclined toward the University; he requested the aid of the Council in soliciting that gentleman's assistance. Dr. Crosby and William A. Butler were commissioned to visit him; but in the fall they reported that he gave them no encouragement.⁷ Then the Chancellor resolved that the time for surrender had arrived.

To the Council at its meeting on February 24, 1881, was

⁶ This figure is taken from the Chancellor's annual report. The catalogue for 1880-81 gives 110 students; but the catalogue was apparently padded.

⁷ Professor Stevenson in 1912 wrote from his memory that Mr. Morgan, Governor of New York from 1858 to 1862, and noted for his benevolence, had manifested a desire to do something for New York University; that Dr. Crosby now asked him point-blank for a million dollars; and that he was so startled that he was never heard from again.

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presented a printed, but unsigned report from the committee of nine, dated February 14, and recommending that "by reason of the deficiency in pecuniary resources the Council will suspend the undergraduate department in Science and Arts with the next commencement, and that the professors shall be paid in full until January 1, 1882." They reported "the condition of the medical and legal department as prosperous, increasing every year in efficiency and numbers, while the undergraduate department is retrograding in both. This latter fact is owing to the lack of pecuniary means to maintain this department at an efficient standard. The salaries are meagre, the apparatus defective, and the instruction necessarily crude. While Columbia College has in five years increased its undergraduate department from 150 to 325, not including the scientific students, our college has decreased its numbers from 150 to 75 in the same time, including the scientific students. This most remarkable difference is an unmistakable indication of the low position held by the University undergraduate department in the esteem of the community." Action on the proposal was postponed until March 14. Thus was celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the University.

Indirect knowledge of the printed proposal must have soon come into the hands of the faculty of the College, whose emotions need not be described. To be deprived of their professional livelihood, with little hope in the case of the older men of finding other positions, was enough; to be told that their instruction was crude was too much. Their first desire was to ascertain the authorship of the report, even before attempting to refute the stigma laid upon them. Which member of the Council was familiar enough with their instruction to venture to qualify it as crude? Ultimately, to their surprise and chagrin they realized that the author was Dr. Crosby himself, their own former colleague, and their own unanimous choice ten years before for the

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chancellorship. On a copy of the proposed resolution, preserved in the University library, appears the notation, in Professor Baird's handwriting: "This report was written by Rev. Howard Crosby, D.D., as admitted by him in faculty meeting, May 3, 1881." The tone of this little notation expresses clearly enough the distress of the faculty.

The Chancellor, long before May 3, must have sensed the emotions of the faculty; for at a Council meeting on March 14, he asked leave to withdraw the resolution of February 14, and to present a substitute report, dated March 5, written not by himself, if another memorandum made by Dr. Baird is to be followed, but by William R. Martin, '45, the Secretary of the Council. The end to be achieved remained the same, but the explanation was altered. Now it was stated that the "professors in the Department of Science and Arts are men of high ability, devotion to their work, and have attained great eminence; . . . that the recognized ability of the professors, and the high standard of instruction and discipline justify us in believing that, with an endowment, the undergraduate department could be placed on a par with any in the country. . . . The professors have with great self-sacrifice and devotion fully performed their duties, and done all in their power to sustain the Department." But, the memorandum continues, all efforts to raise the endowment have failed, and the situation must be met. The Medical Department is self-supporting, the number of its students has steadily increased, and has now reached 621. The Law Department has now 60 students, and has steadily increased in efficiency and numbers. The conclusion seems inevitable that it is unadvisable to continue the undergraduate department. So serious a step, however, should not be taken without a full hearing for the professors, and the committee recommended that such a hearing be held. If the Council, after the hearing, should still decide to close the College, then, said the Committee, it would be advis-

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able to establish "postgraduate courses of study, with a view to including schools already established."⁸ . . . The establishment of a postgraduate course in Political Science would furnish a distinct department for the maintenance of which the present income would be sufficient. . . and might be made the best school of its kind in the country."⁹ . . . In addition to this, it might be advisable to enlarge the law department, by additions to its library, and by the appointment of an associate professor." The report concluded by stating that, in making changes of this sort, it would be necessary to take into consideration the rights of the original shareholders, and to obtain their sanction; and to that end certain changes in the By-Laws should be made.

The Council thereupon voted that, in accordance with the recommendation, the faculty of the University College should be heard; for the second time in three years, the entire faculty then entered the Council room, eleven in number, and Dr. Benjamin N. Martin presented and read the protest of the professors against the closing of the University College.

The professors had, of course, devoted much time and thought to the preparation of a document on which their own future and the life of their college depended. In its final form they had caused it to be printed; and it remains to-day one of the most interesting documents in the archives of the University. It had been originally prepared without a direct knowledge of the contents of Chancellor Crosby's attack upon their efficiency; and the first part of their protest was expressed in general terms. The closing of the Col-

⁸ This phrase probably refers to the postgraduate course established by the so-called "Supplementary Faculty" of the medical department in April, 1875, of which the presiding genius was Dr. D. B. St. J. Roosa, a member of the University Council. Upon the failure of Dr. Roosa to secure a diversion of the University endowment to the support of this organization, the entire postgraduate medical faculty, including Dr. Roosa, resigned their connection with the University, in 1882.

⁹ This was the suggestion of Henry P. Mott, who had succeeded Dr. E. H. Gillett, upon his death in 1875, as professor of Political Science; and it led to his retirement from the faculty a few months later.

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lege would, they said, be a sacrifice of the best interests of education in New York City; for there was no other unsectarian but evangelical college in the city. It would be a blow to the interests of sound and high education; they ventured to say that the University College had attained a standard upon a level with, if not decidedly above, any other in the vicinity. It would be a violation of good faith toward the donors, who had made their subscriptions specifically for the creation and support of the College. Finally, they said, the suspension was wholly unnecessary and gratuitous, for the existing funds, though small, were sufficient to maintain the College, provided the faculty was let alone and allowed to do its work in peace.

After preparing this form of protest, however, the professors had secured access to the Chancellor's written criticism; and, with considerable warmth, they proceeded to criticize his criticism.

They observed, they said, that in consequence of the deficiency of apparatus, their instruction was pronounced "necessarily crude." In reply, they would point out that the peculiarity of their instruction was that it was given by the professors themselves, by mature scholars rather than by mere tutors. To this type of instruction Yale and Harvard were striving, with only partial success, to attain. In Columbia College there were eleven tutors to thirteen professors; a large part of its teaching had passed into less competent hands.

But the apparatus of the University College was pronounced defective. To this they would say that in Chemistry the chief defects had been already remedied; and in Physics, while the courses were less freely illustrated than was desirable, the instruction was given with a fulness of mathematical instruction, the most important element of the course, that was exceptionally ample and thorough.

But the College, they were told, was rapidly diminishing

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in size because of "the low position held by the College in public estimation." It was true, they admitted, that there had been a decline in numbers, though not so great as the Council believed; but this decline was wholly due, they were confident, to the continuous suggestions emanating from the Council that the College was to be closed. Let the Council leave the College alone, and not break down an institution which was accomplishing a work of real usefulness in the community.

Professors Johnson, J. W. Draper, and Baird then addressed the Council in support of Professor Martin's argument. Professor Mott, however, ventured to lift his voice in contradiction to his colleagues, and spoke in favor of the closing of the College, and of the organization of the post-graduate courses, presumably of those in Political Science. The Council then adjourned until March 29, agreeing to hear the faculty again upon that day, and in the meantime to supply the professors with further details of the financial situation.

Not until then, it appears, did the faculty have access to Mr. William R. Martin's "substituted" report, dated March 5. In the next fortnight the professors studied that new report with anxiety and thoroughness; and on the evening of March 29, 1881, again appeared in the Council room while Professor Martin presented a further analysis of their complaints. He noted, with some sarcasm, the changed spirit of the new report; no word was longer uttered of the crudeness of their instruction, and the professors were now acknowledged to be men of recognized ability, and the College to have a high standard of instruction and discipline. The professors were embarrassed in quoting such terms of kindness and respect; but were at the same time at a loss to know whether this favorable account was only to supplement the former one, or whether it took its place, and represented a more deliberate judgment by

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the committee. If the committee still maintained its former criticisms, the professors wished again emphatically to deny, with proper modesty, the truth of those criticisms. They maintained that their instruction would compare not unfavorably with the best that could be placed in comparison with it, and that no college in America could show a graduating class more thoroughly disciplined, more competently taught, or better prepared for professional studies. The professors regretted that the Council had seen fit to compare the success of the University College with that of the Law School and the Medical School on the basis of numbers of students enrolled; they were told that those schools were manifestly succeeding because they were steadily increasing in numbers while the University College declined. For the Law School, this was a surprising statement; for there were a third fewer students in that school in the current year than in the previous year. They admitted that there were 621 students in the Medical School; but not a word was said by the Council of the methods pursued in the Medical School, of the principles which governed its administration, or of its relation to any of the efforts then in progress for the improvement of medical education. The College faculty was constrained to say that as long as the number of students in attendance was regarded as the one criterion of prosperity, so long would the administrators of a school be tempted to lower their standard and relax their discipline. An institution can always increase its numbers by lowering its standards. They believed that a school which held a moderate number of students under good instruction was far more successful than one which teaches with lax discipline three times the number of negligent attendants.¹⁰

¹⁰ This wordy and indirect criticism of the Medical School is much more succinctly given in a notation made by an anonymous member of the faculty on the printed report of March 5. "If a preliminary examination were requisite [for entrance into the medical college], it would dwindle to half." It was true that in 1881 no entrance requirements for the medical course existed.

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As for the numbers of students in the College, the professors believed that the diminution was temporary, and that the numbers would increase again—unless, indeed, this wanton and needless assault upon the life of the College should bring new disasters. They were told that, with a million dollars in endowment, the College might prosper. The faculty was confident that while larger endowments would, of course, be beneficial, the College could successfully continue without such endowments.

But, they concluded, they were told that it was not worth while to spend so much money on so small a college! The faculty replied *that the funds have been provided for this end and no other*. All good instruction is expensive, and the donors of the funds gave their money for just such a purpose. They therefore repeated their protest, that the closing of the College (1) was unnecessary, (2) was uncalled for, (3) was hazardous, and (4) was unjust and illegal. The faculty could not believe that the members of the Council would ignore the obligation of good faith, of honor, and of humanity which were incumbent upon them.

The case for the faculty had been prepared with care and restraint. Unfortunately, we can no longer know with what ability Professor Martin presented it, nor, except indirectly, what effect it had upon the members of the Council. Certainly the members of the Council who were, like Mr. Jesup, lawyers in charge of great trusts, must have been restive under the charge of breach of trust.

After Professor Martin had finished, the other members of the faculty were invited to speak, but declined, and withdrew without further remarks. At once, Dr. Roosa moved the suspension of the College at the next commencement. Charles Butler, it is understood, opposed the motion; and Dr. John Hall proposed as a substitute motion, that "in view of the past sacrifices of the professors and their willingness to continue their work even with inadequate in-

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comes," the College be continued, in the hope, to the realization of which the Council should pledge itself, that larger resources might yet be made available. Upon Dr. Crosby's motion, the Council then adjourned until April 26, on which evening final action should be taken.

On that day, April 26, 1881, which was within a week of the fiftieth anniversary of the granting of the Charter, the Council met, finally to decide the fate of the University College. Dr. John Hall's substitute motion, to continue the existence of the College, was before the meeting, was voted upon, and was lost. Dr. Roosa's motion to close the College was discussed, and upon William R. Martin's motion was amended to include the payment of the faculty until January 1, 1882, with a request that the Committee of the Council prepare a plan for a department of Political Science, the enlargement of the Law School, and a report on what schools already established could be brought into relations with the University.¹¹ Thereupon the Council voted upon Mr. Martin's motion. *Nine* members of the Council, Messrs. Johnston (the President), Crosby, Martin, Jesup, Anderson, Roosa, Charlier, Smith, and Parsons voted in the affirmative, and *eight*, Messrs. Aycrigg, Wheelock, Moore, Thompson, Charles Butler, Hall, Hamilton, and A. J. Vanderpoel in the negative; and the resolution was declared carried. According to Chapter 8 of the By-Laws, however, it was the rule of the Council that "Professors shall be removed only by a concurrent vote of not less than eleven members of the Council." Was the closing of a college of the University not equivalent to the removal of the professors thereof? If it was, the alleged adoption of the resolution was apparently contrary to the By-Laws.

Within the next fortnight Dr. Crosby was convinced by representatives of the minority on the Council that the vote

¹¹ This last proposal presumably referred to Dr. Roosa's postgraduate medical faculty.

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of April 26, 1881, was invalid. At his request, apparently, another Council meeting was held on May 9, with an unusually large attendance. Charles Butler at once read to the Council a printed protest, signed by himself and six associates, against the validity of the previous resolution. The By-Laws of the University expressly stated: (1) that the "second general department of the University shall embrace a full course of classical, philosophical, and mathematical instruction, and also a complete course of English literature, of mathematics and science"; and (2) that "professors shall be removed only by a vote of not less than eleven members, being a majority of those present." By the resolution of April 26, both these principles had been violated. Any entry upon the minutes of the Council of such a resolution was a false entry. Moreover, no change could be made in the By-Laws unless "openly proposed in writing at a meeting of the Council . . . and adopted at a subsequent meeting by a majority vote."

But, Mr. Butler continued, he and his associates wished also to protest against the principle, as well as the method. The original subscriptions to the University fund were made upon the faith that the Academic Department would be perpetuated; subsequent contributions and bequests had been made upon a similar understanding. The suspension of the College would be a breach of trust, without the consent of every one of the contributors or his legal representatives. Mr. Butler added that the professors had a legal contract with the University to receive their salaries until they died or were removed for misconduct or incompetency; but, he felt, their moral ground to protest against their dismissal was still firmer. The proposition of the Committee of the Council was illegal, inexpedient, and unjust.

Dr. Crosby then "openly proposed in writing at the meeting of the Council" a change in the By-Laws to be acted on at the next meeting; the addition, namely, of the follow-

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ing provision: "The second department may at any time be suspended by the Council." He admitted that the action taken on April 26 was unconstitutional, and, at his motion, the Council voted to reconsider that action. Dr. Crosby then gave notice that the Council would again meet on May 16.

A very effective point used by the antagonists of the University College was the lack of support by the alumni of that College, shown not merely in their failure to contribute to its financial support, but still more clearly in their sending their sons to other colleges. In 1881, for example, the president of the Alumni Association, Aaron J. Vanderpoel, '43, and four members of the Council who were of the alumni, then had sons studying in other colleges.¹² If even the alumni did not think the College the proper place for their sons, should it hope to attract others? To a considerable extent, it is probable that the alumni had been alienated by Dr. Crosby's principle of free tuition; and had come to feel that their College had become an eleemosynary institution to which self-respecting families would not send their children. Now, however, the faculty appealed to the alumni for support. Mr. Vanderpoel called a meeting for May 10, in the small chapel, at which there was apparently considerable diversity of opinion. The Chancellor spoke of the unwillingness of the community to support the College; but Professor Baird declared the University was in a better way financially than it had been for thirty years, and that all the College wished for was to be let alone. The Alumni Association then appointed a committee of five, including Judge Van Brunt, '56, and the Rev. Lyman Abbott, '53, to protest to the Council, and to pledge the alumni to loyal support of the College.

At the Council meeting of May 16, 1881, therefore, the alumni committee first presented their protest, and with-

¹² E. G. Sihler: *History of New York University*, vol. I, p. 165.

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drew. Dr. Roosa then moved the change in the By-Laws proposed by the Chancellor at the previous meeting. Mr. Charles Butler protested, as the holder of a perpetual scholarship and as a subscriber to the endowment of the University. After much discussion, Dr. Roosa's motion was laid on the table. Dr. Roosa then moved that the whole subject be referred to a committee of those members of the Council present who were lawyers to report at once upon the legality of closing the college. The motion was carried, and Messrs. J. T. Johnston, William A. Butler, A. J. Vanderpoel, Parsons, Maclay, Leveridge, Lane, and William R. Martin retired, to decide the fate of the College. It should be noted that none of these gentlemen, except Mr. Vanderpoel, had voted on April 26 with Charles Butler to maintain the college; and that Charles Butler, although a lawyer himself, was not put upon the committee. But Charles Butler had made a strong point with regard to the breach of trust; and when the committee returned, all but two, Messrs. Lane and W. R. Martin, reported "that the legal difficulties were so serious as to preclude the suspension of the undergraduate department." Upon Dr. John Hall's motion, the Council thereupon voted to continue the University College, and to welcome aid from the alumni and other sources to enlarge its means.

It would be a fascinating subject of inquiry to analyze the sensations of the members of the Council as they left this, the most stormy session in its history. Unfortunately none of the protagonists has left a written record of his feelings. Presumably the tension was high, and one would have expected the resignation of the defeated faction. On the contrary, it is pleasant to say that very few such resignations followed. Four members, it is true, retired at once from the Council, including Mr. Jesup, the treasurer, and Dr. Roosa. The others seem to have taken with equanimity the defeat of their plans, and remained in the Council to serve

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with loyalty the institution that they had wished to destroy. In his later memories, indeed, one of the professors declared that "Dr. Crosby and William R. Martin remained in the Council in order to make it hot for the faculty"; but there is no other evidence for this feeling on their part except this strongly biased one. On the contrary, Dr. Crosby seems to have served on the Council, until his death ten years later, with admirable loyalty to the interests of the College; and Mr. Martin in his later years was at any rate interested enough in the University to preserve with pious care many of the documents upon which this history is based.

Dr. Crosby did, of course, immediately resign the chancellorship, which took effect after the 1881 commencement. In his letter of resignation, dated June 22, 1881, he carefully explained that his resignation had been presented in June, 1873, and that he considered that his services since that date had been purely temporary.

So far was he from having lost interest in the University, moreover, that the Council at once made him the chairman of a committee to select a new chancellor. Unless it was decided to appoint a full-time chancellor—and however wise such a decision would have been, it was financially impracticable—or unless it was decided to appoint a member of the college faculty to that office—and the medical school would have been resentful—one person was clearly indicated for the office. The Rev. John Hall had been for five years the staunchest defender of the College upon the Council; and he had retained the friendship of Dr. Crosby's admirers. The Alumni Association and the College faculty joined in presenting his name to the favorable attention of the Council; and on October 24, 1881, he was unanimously elected the fifth Chancellor of New York University.

CHAPTER VII
CHANCELLOR HALL'S ADMINISTRATION
1881-1891

THE history of the crisis of 1881 in the annals of New York University has been treated with a detail that may appear superfluous to some readers; this has been done not merely because of the intrinsic drama of the subject but also in order that the weaknesses of the University at the time of its semi-centennial may serve as a foil for the process of invigoration that was to follow. Making all due allowances for the relative excellence of instruction in the College, and for the numerical strength of the two professional schools, it is nevertheless true that Dr. Crosby's pessimism was based upon a considerable foundation of fact. The standards of its professional schools, which had once been as high as those of any in the country, had remained at least stationary, while those of other universities had been advanced. The absence of provision for postgraduate instruction, which had been the common condition of American colleges in 1870 and had therefore been unnoticeable, had become a visible weakness since the foundation of Johns Hopkins had forced Harvard and other American universities to turn to the development of their graduate schools. The smallness and conservatism of the University College, and its lack of laboratory equipment, which had again been relatively common to American colleges in 1860, were felt to be proper objects for criticism in 1881. In New York City itself, the resources and prestige of Columbia and of New York University were essentially on a par in 1860; by

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1881 it was evident to all that Columbia had far outstript the University in visible strength and in public esteem.

Now that it had been decided that the University College was not to be closed by the will of the Council, it was necessary that the weaknesses of the University should be analyzed and remedied, if it were not to perish from mere inanition. Indisputably the first visible weakness was financial; in an age when its sister universities were increasing their material resources at a rate that would have seemed incredible in 1830, the first need of New York University appeared to be the securing of greater endowment. In our American civilization as it has developed since the Civil War, such considerations were inevitable. On the one hand, it may be said that the financial weakness of the University had been somewhat exaggerated by Dr. Crosby and his friends; on the other hand, the greatest universities in the modern world have not always been the richest. Were there not weaknesses in the University of 1881 which could be cured by other means than the touch of gold?

There were surely such weaknesses in the professional schools. Perhaps the Law School and the Medical School could not have come into existence at all except in the form which they had taken, that of proprietary institutions controlled by a very few members of the faculty, in which the Council of the University played scarcely any part save that of granting diplomas. With no intention of criticizing the work of such men as Valentine Mott and John W. Draper in the Medical School, and John Norton Pomeroy in the Law School, whose conduct of those schools was above criticism, it is probably safe to say that by 1881 it was generally realized that the proprietary method of conducting professional education was not the proper one, and that a faculty dependent for its support upon the fees of students could hardly be expected to maintain standards for admission and graduation that were above reproach. If the University

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Council were after 1881 to assume the control of the two professional schools, to pay stated salaries to the instructors, to raise the standards for admission, to lengthen and improve the curriculum, and to set higher requirements for graduation, the proprietors of the school would of course complain that matriculations would decline, and that the schools would cease to be self-supporting. Such has not in general been the result of improvements in standards, however; and the administration of New York University was bound, sooner or later, to make the experiment, if its prestige was not wholly to be lost.

There was surely, in 1881, a weakness in the field of postgraduate study. The time was almost at hand when an American institution which called itself a university, but did not foster postgraduate instruction, would be a subject of scorn and derision; and that reproach would be the more deserved in the case of New York University, which had been founded with that very object in view. How long could the University afford to be untrue to the ideals of Albert Gallatin? Here, the question was much more serious than the reform of the professional schools. Postgraduate instruction is almost necessarily expensive, not so much, perhaps, from the cost of paying the teacher, as from the equipment required in the form of libraries and laboratories. The laboratories of New York University in 1881 were relatively antiquated; and since the crisis of 1838 the library had been so completely neglected that it practically had no existence. But good advanced instruction *had* been given in Europe before 1881 with few resources; and the Council of the University was in duty bound to remove from the institution committed to its care the reproach under which it labored. It is possible that Dr. Crosby had realized this, and that his despondency after 1873 was mainly due to the thwarting of his hopes in the direction of postgraduate work.

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There was weakness in the University College in 1881; but it was more difficult to analyze than in the two fields just discussed. Most critics, then as now, would have found its chief weakness to be in the small number of its students; as we know, there were but seldom more than one hundred undergraduates. There is to-day a fairly general opinion that a good small college provides better instruction than a large one; but a good small college inevitably attracts students and tends to become large, so that the test of a good college in practice comes to be its size, unless a specific limitation of numbers is rigidly adhered to. The University College in 1881 was small, it surely did not attempt to limit its enrollment, and it was growing smaller from year to year, in a city that was growing enormously in population, and in a society which was increasingly sending its young men to college. Something was manifestly wrong. Was the faculty incompetent? It would not be difficult to prove the contrary. Was the curriculum ill adapted to meet the "wants of the age"? Possibly; but other colleges with a similar curriculum, like Yale and Princeton, were flourishing. Were the laboratories out-worn, and was the library wholly inadequate? Yes; but it is to be feared that neither fathers nor sons make many inquiries upon such facilities.

It is probable that the stagnation of the College was due to three main reasons: its presence in the midst of a business section, with no campus or athletic facilities; free tuition; and its lack of sectarian connections.

At the time of the erection of the building in Washington Square, two conditions prevailed which were wholly changed in 1881; one change could have been anticipated, the other not. Washington Square was almost in the country in 1835; it had then become the center of a "choice residential district," but had rapidly been commercialized. To go to college at Washington Square in 1881 was like going downtown to business. On the other hand, American col-

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leges in 1831 hardly at all understood the meaning of "college life," as it had come into being fifty years later. The undergraduate of 1835 enjoyed his "extra-curricular activities" in the form of debating and literary societies, and possibly, in spite of faculty prohibition, in the "frequenting of low taverns." "Campus life," particularly that which centers about athletic competition, was an unanticipated delight. Now all was changed. Young men selected their colleges for reasons different from those that moved their grandfathers; and New York University had nothing more to offer in the way of college life than membership in a fraternity and in the Eucleian or Philomathean literary societies, a view of Washington Square from the window of a stuffy classroom, and an occasional frolic across the river to Hoboken. With no dormitories, no campus, and no athletic teams, the University College seemed, to the average youth of 1881, a sorry place.

Many of the alumni of the earliest classes sent their sons to their own alma mater; some of the later classes did, but after 1870 few of the second generation came. Probably the wishes of the sons for athletic facilities played the leading rôle in this departure; but it is quite apparent that a great many of the alumni were alienated by the adoption of free tuition in 1870. The University College had become for them a charity school, to which the self-respecting citizen would not send his son. In 1870 Dr. Crosby had anticipated the rapid spread of free tuition among all American colleges, and had gloried in the great service which the University would confer upon New York City by giving free education. Instead of his anticipated development, the principle of free tuition had been rejected by the eastern colleges which had embarked upon it; those young men in New York who wanted free education went to the City College, and the others went to neighboring colleges that provided a "collegiate atmosphere."

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Moreover, attractive and progressive as were the ideas of the founders of the University in regard to its distinctly non-sectarian character, it must be admitted that those ideas had not strongly appealed to families whence its students might be expected to come. The flourishing colleges of the East in 1881 were still sectarian, in tradition if not in fact. Harvard was Unitarian in tradition, and the sons of Unitarians tended towards Harvard College; the sons of Congregationalists went to Yale, the sons of Presbyterians to Princeton, the sons of Episcopalians to Columbia, the sons of adherents of the Dutch Reformed Church to Rutgers. Nothing was more natural, even if it was perhaps unfortunate; and in 1881 there were, therefore, not many young men left to go to a college, like that on Washington Square, which had maintained a non-sectarian basis. To be sure, the University had always insisted, since Albert Gallatin's retirement at least, upon its Christian and evangelical nature; but the world apparently preferred a sectarian to a Christian background.

Manifestly, therefore, in 1881 there were three possibilities which a new chancellor might contemplate in attempting to re-invigorate the University College: a change of location; the abolition of free tuition; and the abandonment of the non-sectarian idea. If one adds to these possibilities in the College the opportunities for improvement and enlargement of the professional schools, the result will be the program of changes in which the University administration of the generation after 1881 was interested.

The Rev. John Hall, to whom the Council turned for leadership in 1881, was born in Ulster in 1829. From the college at Belfast he had entered the theological seminary in the same city, and was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry in 1850. After two years spent as a teacher and missionary in Connaught, where he seems to have gained the respect of the Roman Catholic clergy, he returned to Ulster

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in 1852 as the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Armagh. Winning prestige there, especially through his interest in temperance and education, he was in 1858 called to the pastorate of Mary's Abbey in Dublin, where he soon achieved wide popularity. Deeply devoted, however, to the advancement of popular education in Ireland, he accepted from Gladstone in 1860 a position on the Irish Board of National Education, thus winning the enmity of the more rigid Presbyterians from his support of Gladstone's non-sectarian and "godless" schools. Immediately after his return to Dublin from a journey to the United States as a delegate to the Presbyterian Assembly, he was invited to become pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York. Moving thither in 1867, he soon became, perhaps after Dr. Crosby, the most admired Presbyterian clergyman in the city. Presumably through his friendship with Dr. Crosby, he entered the Council of the University in 1875; but, unlike his friend, remained, as we have seen, a champion of the University College in the critical years from 1878 to 1881.¹ It is perhaps not rash to conclude that his experiences in Ireland had convinced him of the desirability of non-sectarian education, and that from him would emanate no suggestion of the abandonment of it in New York University.

To him, then, in October, 1881, the Council offered the Chancellorship. With apparently great reluctance, however, he refused the offer, because, he said, in a letter which the Council distributed to the public, his congregation was unwilling for him to undertake the added burden, and he was of course unwilling to resign his pastorate. He added that he had been "at pains to learn the exact present condition and also the history of the University, and to estimate its capacity for usefulness in the future." The result was "a profound conviction, stronger than can be here expressed,

¹ Thomas C. Hall: *John Hall, Pastor and Preacher, A Biography*, New York, 1901.

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that a wise and far-sighted public spirit ought to maintain and extend its advantages." "Without invading the ground occupied by any other institution in the neighborhood, the University can well find a constituency of its own, in sympathy with its tone and requiring its advantages. It only needs, in my humble judgment, a dispassionate consideration of its career and possibilities to secure the support of a body of citizens . . . who, if it ceased to exist, would be obliged to replace it in a few years, at an enormously greater outlay than would now assure its high efficiency." "It is my hope," he concluded, "that as a member of the Council I may be permitted to labor for this result."

It is not customary to publish letters of refusal; and the fact that the Council saw fit to publish Dr. Hall's letter suggests that they had other aims than to broadcast the sympathetic words of the author. A few months later, indeed, Dr. Hall was, it seems, able to persuade his congregation to lend his services, at least temporarily, to the University; and on February 21, 1882, he accepted an appointment as Chancellor *ad interim*, without compensation. There is no written evidence of the fact; but it is probable that, in accepting the appointment, he stipulated that he should be permitted to call to the faculty, as soon as the opportunity presented itself, an assistant who should be trained to succeed him in the office. Within two years, indeed, such a step was taken.

It had for some years been recognized that the Charter of the University, secured in 1831, was antiquated and not in accord with existing practices. It will be remembered that the charter required an annual election of one-fourth of the Council by the shareholders of the University; included in those members annually elected must be the mayor of the city and four members of the Common Council. It was also stipulated that no one religious sect should ever have a majority in the Council.

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The first discrepancy arose from the fact that, although it had always been assumed that subscribers to the funds of the University were shareholders to the extent of one share for each twenty-five dollars subscribed, no certificates of stock had ever been issued. In the original subscription of 1831 there had been given *receipts* for various installments of subscription *for* shares of the capital stock;² but there is no reason to believe that any *certificates* of stock had ever been issued. It had simply been taken for granted that any subscriber, or his heir-at-law, was entitled to vote at the annual election. Secondly, although the elections had occurred with regularity every year, after proper advertisement, and although there is no evidence of the procedure followed at the elections, it is probably true that very few "shareholders" appeared, and that the only important matters in the election were nomination by the Council and acceptance by the candidate. We may not exaggerate if we believe that there was usually very little competition for a seat on the Council! Thirdly, although the Mayor was regularly elected each year, he seldom honored the Council by his presence, except when, as in the case of that distinguished alumnus, A. Oakey Hall, '43, mayor from 1869 to 1872, he was personally interested in the College. The four members from the Common Council were regularly elected each year until 1870, except in 1868; but after the first few years they never appeared at the meetings; it would be interesting to know whether or not the Secretary of the Council even invited them to come! Lastly, it is very difficult to discover what attention, if any, was paid, after the excitement of the first election, to the prohibition against a sectarian majority. It is only an assumption, and perhaps an unsafe one, to conclude that long before 1883 there had come to be a very large representation of the Presbyterian and the Dutch Reformed Churches on the Council.

² Three such receipts are in the University archives.

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In the heat of the excitement over the closing of the College, early in 1881, Messrs. William Allen Butler, A. J. Vanderpoel, and William R. Martin had been charged with a report on the changing of the By-Laws, to permit the suspension of the undergraduate department. When such action was declared illegal, the committee turned its attention to these defects in the charter; and in April, 1882, recommended that steps be taken to secure, if possible, from the Regents of the State of New York such modification of the Charter as would make the current practices strictly legal. The Committee prepared as complete a list as possible of subscribers to the University since 1830;³ and urged that the subscribers and their heirs-at-law be asked to relinquish their stock to the Council. On October 17, 1882, therefore, the Council approved a request to the Regents to amend the Charter by (1) omitting the requirement of electing the Mayor and four members of the Common Council; (2) abolishing the prohibition of a majority of one religious sect upon the Council; and (3) making the Council a self-perpetuating corporation, thus extinguishing the fiction of shareholders.

At the annual meeting of the stockholders, held on November 6, 1882, these recommendations were approved. Unfortunately there is no record of the attendance or of the discussion, if there was any. Apparently, however, no protest was made by any person legally entitled to be considered a shareholder. William Allen Butler undertook the negotiations at Albany, with complete success; and on January 12, 1883, the Charter was amended by the Regents in precisely the form desired by the Council. It should, however, be noted that these amendments did not extinguish

³ The list, which contains about 325 names, is not incorporated in the minutes of the Council, but is preserved in the University archives. It is, of course, the most nearly complete list of the earlier benefactors of the University; but was made incomplete and inaccurate by the disorder of the records left in Chancellor Mathews' administration, when the original subscription books were "lost."

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the right, granted in February, 1830, of any of the original subscribers to the control of a perpetual scholarship for every \$1,500 contributed. While the principle of free tuition was maintained in the College, these "perpetual scholarships" were of no importance; if free tuition were abandoned, they might possibly again become a drain on the finances of the College.

At the time of Dr. Crosby's resignation, the faculty of the University College—theoretically divided, it will be remembered, into two departments, Arts and Sciences—was little changed from what it had been ten years before. Professors Johnson and Draper remained as survivors of the Frelinghuysen administration; Martin, Bull, Baird, and Coakley represented the Ferris era; only Stevenson, Henry Draper, Carroll, and Mott had been appointed by Dr. Crosby. In a very brief interval after Dr. Crosby's retirement, however, the faculty suffered at least three severe losses. The faculty, I fear, would not have considered another loss a cause for much suffering. Henry P. Mott, who had been for five years professor of Political Science, was apparently very unpopular both with students and with colleagues. With his colleagues the feeling was caused by what they without doubt considered his treason to the faculty in the crisis of 1881; from the students came many complaints about his incompetency as a teacher. As soon as the faculty controlled the situation, he was persuaded to resign. In his place was appointed, late in 1881, a recent graduate of the College, Isaac Franklin Russell, '75, who after graduation at the New York University Law School, had done distinguished postgraduate work in law at Yale, where he was graduated as Master of Laws in 1879, and as Doctor of Civil Law in 1880. Dr. Russell had already been appointed Professor of Law in New York University, and his later career was chiefly devoted to the Law School. For many years after 1881, however, he gave instruction

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in Political Science and Economy in the University College.

On January 7, 1882, died Dr. John William Draper, professor of Chemistry and Natural History, who had been for forty-three years a star of the first magnitude in the University firmament. Irreparable as was his loss, his place was worthily filled at once by the appointment in February, 1882, of his son, Henry Draper. The younger Draper had been professor of Physiology since 1870, and now added to his honors the chair of Chemistry. Relatively young as he was, Henry Draper was already recognized as an eminent scientist, especially in the field of spectroscopy; and he seems to have been somewhat more approachable than his father. It was generally understood that his main ambition, now satisfied, was to succeed his father in the University. The College, however, enjoyed his services for a very brief time only. In October, 1882, he presented his resignation of both chairs; and, a few weeks later, died. John J. Stevenson, '63, whom we have known as professor of Geology since 1871, was now asked to combine the three chairs of Geology, Chemistry, and Biology. His duties, however, were not quite so vast as would at first sight appear; for Albert H. Gallatin, A.B. 1859, and M.D. 1862, a grandson of Albert Gallatin, the first President of the Council, was now appointed professor of Analytical Chemistry. Through the generosity of Charles Butler, his daughter, Miss Emily O. Butler, and others, many improvements were made in the scientific laboratories.

Most tragic in its circumstances of all the losses suffered was the death of Benjamin N. Martin, for thirty years professor of Philosophy, and the most beloved member of the faculty. For many years he had among his other duties fulfilled those of Recorder of the University College. While working at the records, in the ill-ventilated and poorly heated Chancellor's office, on the eve of Christmas, 1883, he contracted pneumonia, dying two days later, on December 26, 1883.



JOHN HALL
Fifth Chancellor
1881-1891

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Dr. Martin had, we know, long combined instruction in History and English with his chair of Philosophy. To continue the teaching in the first two subjects, William Addison Houghton, A.B. Yale, 1873, who had just returned home after five years as professor of English in the Imperial University at Tokyo, was made assistant professor of English and Rhetoric, with the understanding that he was also to relieve Professor Johnson in the department of Latin. Dr. Hall, however, seems to have decided that, in filling the chair of Philosophy, the opportunity had now arisen of selecting with great care a man who could not only teach Philosophy, but could also be trained as a possible candidate for the chancellorship. For six months, therefore, Professor Martin's chair remained unfilled.

Before the choice of that successor could be made, moreover, welcome news came in the form of financial relief. By the will of Mr. Julius Hallgarten, probated in February, 1884, the University received a legacy of \$50,000.⁴ In May of the same year, Augustus Schell, president of the New York Historical Society and grand sachem of Tammany Hall, bequeathed \$5,000; and in the same month, Mrs. Mary McCrea Stuart,⁵ widow of Robert L. Stuart, a staunch supporter of Dr. Hall's church, gave the University, anonymously as was her wont, the sum of \$25,000. With these benefactions, the Council was enabled to pay off the mortgage of \$30,000, placed on the University building in the dark days of 1877. Unfortunately the remainder had to be spent on past and current deficits; but at least the University was again free from debt, and Dr. Hall's influence was beginning to make itself felt.

⁴ Mr. Hallgarten, who died at Davos in the Engadine in January, 1884, was of German birth, coming to America with his father as a boy of ten, in 1851. He had accumulated a large fortune on the Stock Exchange, with which he had anonymously assisted many charities. He was president of the Philharmonic Society. Dartmouth College received from him a legacy of the same amount as New York University.

⁵ Who at her death in 1891 bequeathed to the Lenox Library the princely Robert L. Stuart collection.

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Under these more cheerful circumstances, on June 2, 1884, Dr. Hall presented to the Council a candidate for the chair of Philosophy vacated by Professor Martin's death. It would be most interesting, but unfortunately it is impossible, to discover in exactly what way he had become acquainted with Henry Mitchell MacCracken, who since 1880 had been serving as Chancellor and professor of Philosophy at the Western University of Pennsylvania.⁶ It is altogether probable, of course, that the acquaintanceship had been made through ecclesiastical connections. Dr. MacCracken was born in Oxford, Ohio, in 1840, of Scotch-Irish stock, and the son of a minister of the Reformed Presbyterian Church; he was graduated from Miami College at the age of seventeen. After a few years' experience in teaching, he studied for the Presbyterian ministry at the Princeton Seminary, whence he was graduated in 1863, to become pastor of the Westminster Church in Columbus, Ohio. By a strange coincidence, he went as deputy to the Presbyterian assemblies in Edinburgh and Dublin in 1867, the same year in which Dr. John Hall came as deputy from Dublin to the United States. After a year of study in Berlin and Tübingen, he returned to be pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Toledo from 1868 to 1880. His heart was always in education, however, and in the latter year he accepted the appointment of Chancellor at the Western University of Pennsylvania. This was the man presented to the Council by Dr. Hall in June, 1884, as the successor of Professor Martin as professor of Philosophy and Logic. Undoubtedly the Council understood the significance of an ex-college president upon the faculty. Whether his new colleagues on the faculty immediately grasped the situation is more doubtful. He made his first appearance at a faculty meeting on September 17, 1884; and the secretary, Professor Coakley, was careful to rank him as the junior member

⁶ Now the University of Pittsburgh.

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present. A few weeks later his colleagues surely knew better; for on December 2, 1884, the Council arranged what in its own minutes was called an "inauguration" for Dr. MacCracken, but was more informally denominated a "reception" by Chancellor Hall in his speech of welcome. No other ordinary member of the faculty had previously been so introduced to the University world; and his colleagues must have at last recognized his peculiar position.⁷

Dr. MacCracken presented, as his introduction to New York University, an address upon the "relation of metropolis and university."⁸ He was, it seems, still impressed with his memories of Tübingen, and told his audience of the German system of separating completely the *gymnasium* and the University. In America, on the other hand, while the educational structure was of four stories, the primary school, the academy, the college, and the professional and postgraduate school, the two upper stories were closely connected. He believed that the American system was the better one, and that it was proper that the college and the graduate school should be taught in general by the same instructors. Fortunately, the original plan for New York University contemplated such an arrangement. The plan had not, however, been fulfilled; now it was most necessary that the University College should undertake postgraduate instruction. Presumably because he was being inaugurated as professor of Philosophy, Dr. MacCracken stressed the development of postgraduate work in Philosophy only; but his words were plainly applicable to other departments as well. There were, he added, two things about the University College which he particularly admired: that the instruction in the Classics was so thorough;

⁷ On this occasion, perhaps, a member of the Council was overheard to remark, if rumor may be believed, that "if this man from Pittsburgh cannot get the College going better, we will have to close it anyway." Cf. E. G. Sihler: *From Maumee to Thames and Tiber*, p. 156.

⁸ Printed in full in the (New York) *University Quarterly*, vol. 8, pp. 63-72, February, 1885.

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and that the College had not yielded to the current fashion of a free "elective system," and still required the study of Logic, Psychology, and Ethics. In conclusion, he made it clear that he hoped to develop his department of Philosophy in close coöperation with the Presbyterian, Reformed, and Congregational churches, as the changes recently made in the charter permitted.

It is, perhaps, implicit in what has been here related concerning the crisis of 1881, and the offer at that time made by the faculty to manage the finances of the College, that the Council had accepted their offer. From that year until 1884 the Council had in no way helped or hindered the faculty in their management. Dr. Henry M. Baird, for the faculty, had collected the rents from tenants of the building, incidental fees from the students, and, apparently, the interest from the invested endowments; after paying the bills for repairs, janitor service, heat and light, interest on the mortgage, etc., he then divided the balance among his colleagues. Once a year he made, as assistant treasurer, a report to the Council, who listened with equanimity. In return, of course, the Council had accepted without question the recommendations of the Faculty with regard to the appointment and discharge of professors.⁹ Henry Draper, in 1882, and Albert H. Gallatin, in 1883, were both appointed upon the recommendation of the faculty. The gift from Charles and Miss Emily O. Butler made in 1883 for the improvement of the chemical laboratory was made upon the solicitation of Dr. Benjamin N. Martin.

With the improvement of finances which occurred in 1884, however, the Council again began to take a closer interest in the affairs of the College. Professor Gallatin was the last professor to be appointed by direct faculty action; Dr. MacCracken was, of course, the candidate of

⁹ Thus, as we have seen, in 1881 the Council approved the practical dismissal of Henry P. Mott.

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Dr. Hall. Early in 1885 the faculty learned that the Council was at last prepared to take over a direct control of the finances of the College, and to resume the payment of stated salaries to the professors. It is to be feared that the faculty, which had suffered without much complaint the adversities of 1878-1884, interpreted this suggestion as meaning that the Council did not object to a minimum wage for the professors, in adversity, but did oppose a maximum wage in prosperity! In any case, before they lost control, the faculty planned to make one distinct advance in their curriculum. Since 1853, as we know, Professor Richard H. Bull had, in addition to his work in Civil Engineering, given instruction to undergraduates in Mathematics. Professor Loomis and his successor, Professor Coakley, had taught only the advanced courses in Mathematics and, in addition, such work as was given in Physics. As was inevitable under such conditions, Physics had been taught from the mathematical side exclusively; no experimental work at all was done by the students. A physical laboratory was practically non-existent. In view of the great development in Experimental Physics in other American universities, Dr. Stevenson was apparently scandalized at its complete absence in New York University. In 1884, therefore, he seized the occasion, before it was too late for the faculty to act, to provide for a reformation in the department of Physics. Dr. Bull, who was advanced in years, and had long been regarded as eccentric by his colleagues, was persuaded to resign his chair and become professor emeritus. Professor Coakley was thereupon induced to take over all the instruction in Mathematics; and opportunity was thus presented for securing a full-time professor of Physics, who should develop the experimental side, at least so far as was compatible with the extreme penury of laboratory equipment.¹⁰

¹⁰ Most of the information in the two preceding paragraphs is derived from a manuscript memorandum made by Professor Stevenson in May, 1912. The facts are

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In May, 1885, therefore, the Council appointed to the new chair of Physics, perhaps upon the recommendation of the faculty, but more probably upon that of Dr. MacCracken, Daniel Webster Hering, a graduate of Yale in the class of 1872, who had been fellow in Engineering at Johns Hopkins from 1876 to 1878, in the first class of graduate students at that institution. From 1880 to 1884 he had been professor of Mathematics at the Western Maryland College, and in the year of his appointment to New York University was professor of Physics at the Western University of Pennsylvania, from whence Dr. MacCracken had just come to New York University. Thus began the services of a teacher to whom so many generations of students and teachers of the University College still look with respect and love.¹¹

Within a month of Dr. Hering's appointment, the Council, in June, 1885, resuming complete control of the University College, elected Dr. H. M. MacCracken to the new office of Vice-Chancellor. At the same time, Dr. John Hall, relieved by this new appointment of his unwillingness to assume the office of Chancellor in any but a temporary way, was elected in full and regular form to the chancellorship. The interim was over.

For the first time in fifteen years New York University now had an executive officer whose entire care, with the exception of some instruction in Philosophy, was to be given to the University. The functions of the Vice-Chancellor were carefully defined by the Council—the presentation of an annual report to the Council, hitherto made by the Chancellor; the preparation of the annual catalogue; and service

probably true, although the tone of the memorandum is exacerbated, as the following sentence, contained therein, will show: "I do not know that the professors ever received a vote of thanks for the self-denial which they endured voluntarily. There may have been such action on the part of the Council, but I never heard of it."

¹¹ Dr. Hering's experiences with the lack of laboratory equipment are amusingly told by him in an article called "The Laboratory Clock" which I have included as Appendix E.

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as intermediary between all faculties and the Council—but in general, of course, he was clearly to assume all the duties of the Chancellor except that of presiding at the annual commencement. Dr. Hall was merely to oversee and to advise the Vice-Chancellor; and, to use Dr. Crosby's phrase, "to represent it [i.e. the University] judiciously before the community." Little more will be said in this history of Dr. Hall's service to the University. He apparently chose to remain in the background; and to allow the responsibility, and the glory, if there were any, to pass outwardly upon the shoulders of Dr. MacCracken. There is every reason to believe, however, that until his resignation in 1891 he worked with vigor and devotion behind the scenes, and that many of the advances of the next six years were due to his exertions.

Dr. MacCracken did not propose to move with unwise haste. All his early activity was founded upon a thorough study of the past history of the University. From the time of his arrival, however, it is clear that the immediate changes nearest to his heart were the development of post-graduate work and the fostering of closer relations with the Presbyterian community. The reformation of the professional schools and the invigoration of the University College were steps that required longer and closer attention. It is doubtful, for example, whether for some years he had the slightest thought of the desirability of moving the site of the University College. If he had, the Council was unaware of it; at the Commencement of 1885, Mr. William Allen Butler still spoke of the location of the College in the midst of the city as a good thing. "We want no students," he said, "who prefer to stray from the academy and the porch."

The Vice-Chancellor's first step, therefore, was in a direction quite contrary to the ideas of the founders. In November, 1885, at his suggestion, the Council approved

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the inspection of the University College by visitors from the Presbyterian Synod of New York; and for several years the practice was continued. The faculty was instructed to "lend them every aid in securing the information they may desire respecting our collegiate work." The motives of such an action are open to a certain doubt. Some members of the University, acquainted with Dr. MacCracken in his later years, do not believe that he ever wished to convert the University into a sectarian school, and would interpret this radical departure from earlier traditions simply as a means of securing the friendship of possible Presbyterian benefactors. To others there would seem to be a clear expectation of securing sectarian support.¹² If such was his expectation in this early period of his administration, it was not realized; and if the intention existed, it was soon abandoned. In any case, one may wonder what would have been the emotions of Albert Gallatin and of Professor Caleb Henry,¹³ could they have known of the visits from the Synod.

Dr. MacCracken's next step, on the other hand, would probably have won the warm approval of Albert Gallatin. In the original plan for the University, it will be recalled, formulated in the statutes of 1832, it was ordered that there should be "two general departments in the Univer-

¹² In his annual report for 1888, Dr. MacCracken inquired: "Is not the time near when we must . . . approach the denomination which has taken us into correspondence, and seek to secure by its machinery the raising of money for this Christian University?" A still stronger statement, moreover, of his leanings toward the sectarianizing of New York University may be found in a remarkable address made before the Forty-Second Convocation of the University of the State of New York (1904), printed in the Regents' Bulletin, No. 64. He stated that Columbia had been the creation of the conservative Anglican community of New York City, and New York University of the non-Anglican, Scotch, Dutch, and Puritan portion. "Neither University has ever thought it could consistently invite either Catholics or Jews to form a portion of its governing body. . . . It is hardly to be expected that the intellectual activity of either the Catholic or Jewish population will ever find its expression in Columbia or in New York University." He predicted that a Catholic and a Jewish university would both soon be created in New York City; and he manifestly expected and hoped that New York University would continue to be closely allied with the "Scotch, Dutch, independent, or puritan" elements.

¹³ Who, Mr. F. N. Zabriskie tells us in his article quoted before, was in the habit of calling the Union Theological Seminary "the gospel shop in the next block"!

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sity. The First shall comprise Professorships and Faculties for instruction in the higher branches of literature and science; which may be increased according to the progress of discovery and the wants of the community. The Second shall embrace what is usually deemed a full course of classical, philosophical, and mathematical instruction." The "First General Department" had, of course, never been organized, in spite of velleities in that direction. Probably there was no popular demand. Certainly there had been no means; and in the statutes as amended in 1849 the provisions with regard to advanced instruction had been wisely supplemented by adding the phrase "according to the financial means of the University." Dr. Crosby had, we know, realized the growth of the demand for, and the necessity of organizing postgraduate instruction. The means had not been provided; and in 1885 the University was still conferring the A.M. degree, as it had long done, without examination upon such of its alumni as applied for it, ordinarily three years after graduation, and who, perhaps by that very application, showed a certain amount of academic interest. Since the disappearance of Professor Draper's School of Analytical Chemistry, the degree of Ph.D. was, although but rarely, conferred as an honorary degree. Such had long been the practice of other American universities; but times had changed, and by 1885 most self-respecting American universities were using the master's and the doctor's degrees only as a reward for advanced study in residence. Dr. MacCracken now proposed, although the all but necessary endowment was still lacking, to fulfill the original plan, save the face of the University, and invigorate the faculty of the College, by organizing graduate work as best he could under the circumstances.

In June, 1886, therefore, at the same time that the two departments of Arts and Science, organized in 1870, were again reunited to form one faculty of Arts and Science, the

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Council ordered that the degrees of M.A., M.S., and Ph.D. should henceforth be given upon examination only, and that the faculty of the College should be authorized to determine and organize the course of study preparatory for such examinations. The University also agreed to confer two graduate fellowships, each of \$300, upon the two seniors highest in rank at graduation, one for study in the classics, and one in philosophy. The first organization was necessarily informal. All the members of the faculty, except Professor Carroll, announced "circles" for postgraduate work, which began in October, 1886; the instructors received the fees paid by the students, of whom twelve resident graduates appeared; and, after examination conducted at the end of the year by a committee of two professors, one degree of M.A. and two degrees of Ph.D. were conferred. It is difficult to discover precisely what the "requirements" for the degrees were. Mr. M. G. Vulcheff, who received one of the doctorates, apparently passed four examinations: one in English History, under Professor Houghton, and three under Dr. MacCracken, in Contemporary Ethics, in Ancient, and in Modern Philosophy.

During the second year of graduate instruction, 1887-88, thirty-one resident students, and during 1888-89, fifty-five were enrolled. In this slow process of development, the Vice-Chancellor saw an opportunity of adding to the faculty a few men to give graduate instruction only. In this way Abram S. Isaacs, A.B. 1871, who had studied for three years at the University of Breslau, was in 1886 appointed to teach Hebrew; Frank F. Ellinwood, A.B. Hamilton, 1849, formerly Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, was in 1887 made professor of Comparative Religion; and Jerome Allen, A.B. Amherst, 1851, formerly president of the state normal school in Minnesota, was in the same year appointed professor of Pedagogy.

In the original plan for the University, instruction in the

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"philosophy of education and the instruction of teachers" had been contemplated. The statutes of 1832 arranged for the creation of a chair of Education; and, indeed, in July, 1832, Thomas H. Gallaudet was appointed to the chair. Perhaps because of his ill health, perhaps because of lack of demand, Mr. Gallaudet seems never to have given instruction; no evidence has been found of his doing so. The appointment of Jerome Allen was, therefore, the first practical fulfillment of this side of the original plan. It was at first understood that Professor Allen's instruction should be given to postgraduate students only. An inevitable corollary was the opening of graduate courses to women; and the Council granted this permission in October, 1888. The Graduate Division, therefore, was the first co-educational enterprise of the University.

Professor Benjamin Martin had, as we know, for many years included among his various duties instruction in Rhetoric, "Belles-lettres," and History. William A. Houghton had been temporarily appointed to continue this side of Dr. Martin's work. Dr. MacCracken had frequently advised the Council, however, that American colleges of high standing no longer approved such an accumulation of subjects in one department, and that it was a matter of much importance for the University to create a department of the English Language and Literature. For two years the Vice-Chancellor's suggestion was unheeded; but in the summer of 1888, Mr. George Munro,¹⁴ of the Council, gave \$20,000, with which to engage a professor of English for five years. The Vice-Chancellor wished to utilize this gift with an especial view to the development of graduate work in English; and to that end secured the appointment in October, 1888, of Francis Hovey Stoddard, A.M. Amherst,

¹⁴ George Munro, 1825-1896, was a native of Pictou, Nova Scotia, and a generous benefactor of Dalhousie College. He was the owner and publisher of the *Fireside Companion*, and of the "Seaside Library," the first number of which series was *East Lynne*.

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1869, who, after two years' study at Oxford, had returned to America in 1886 as instructor in English at the University of California. Mr. Houghton after 1888 taught History, and assisted Professor Johnson in Latin, until he went to Bowdoin College in 1892. With Professor Stoddard's arrival, the Graduate Division was notably strengthened.

In one respect, however, the Graduate Division did not operate entirely as had been planned. I have noted above that Professor Jerome Allen was apparently expected to confine the teaching of Pedagogy to graduate students. About twenty-five graduate students of Pedagogy were enrolled during the year 1887-88; but, as might perhaps have been expected, about fifty school-teachers applied for instruction who were not college graduates. Whether the University should have encouraged them is possibly a question. It had, in any case, been recently answered in the negative by Columbia College. In May, 1887, a committee of the trustees of that College, with Morgan Dix as chairman, studied the proposal of Mr. Nicholas Murray Butler, assistant in Philosophy, Ethics, and Psychology, who wished to offer instruction in pedagogics as an elective for undergraduates in Columbia College, but open to men and women not undergraduates of the College. Mr. Butler estimated that as many as two hundred persons, nine-tenths of whom were women, wished to enter upon such a course. The trustees, however, were "not able to discern any advantage likely to ensue to Columbia College, which could be taken as an offset to the confusion which would result from such a scheme," and rejected Mr. Butler's proposal.¹⁵

On the contrary, Dr. MacCracken encouraged the suggestion of Professor Allen that these teachers who were not college graduates be given instruction in Pedagogy. To be

¹⁵ Taken from President Butler's own account, as printed in the *Annual Report of the President and Treasurer of Columbia University*, for the period ending June 30, 1929, p. 51.

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sure they could scarcely be admitted to the University College, the faculty of which would have been aghast at the sight of women in their classrooms! They were not eligible for the Graduate Division. A separate professional school must be organized for them; and accordingly Dr. George Alexander, recently elected to the Council, was asked to report upon the propriety of organizing a School of Pedagogy. Meanwhile, during the winter of 1887-88, Professor Allen gave special lectures for the teachers who applied; and was assisted by Dr. Edgar D. Shimer and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler.¹⁶ Dr. Butler very shortly afterward organized the New York College for the Training of Teachers at No. 9, University Place, and withdrew from his connection with New York University. In March, 1888, the Council, upon Dr. Alexander's report, tentatively organized a School of Pedagogy, to be in two divisions: the one a section of the Graduate Division, the other for undergraduates. Not for two years, however, was the School of Pedagogy formally organized. Then, on March 3, 1890, the Council specifically gave its consent to the creation of the School of Pedagogy. The story of its organization and development will be treated in another chapter.

On this same day the Council adopted a series of regulations, presented by the faculty of the University College, for the organization and conduct of the Graduate Division of the Department of Arts and Sciences. Formal requirements concerning qualifications for entrance, for residence, and for examinations for degrees were adopted. For the doctor's degree the passing of examinations in five courses, and the submission of a satisfactory thesis, which had not been hitherto stipulated, were required. To a certain extent,

¹⁶ *Report of the Vice-Chancellor of the University of the City of New York, for 1888*, p. 23. On page 14 of this same report, Dr. MacCracken says: "A Columbia instructor said to me the other day that we could gain 500 students in a few years, if we were wise; that he had pressed the work on Dr. Dix and the Columbia Corporation, but inertia prevented them undertaking it." This Columbia instructor must have been Dr. Butler.

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therefore, the Graduate School and the School of Pedagogy were born upon the same day.

In another professional school the influence of the Vice-Chancellor had been soon felt, and a true university organization introduced. The Law School had never been so completely proprietary as the Medical College; chiefly, perhaps, because its work was conducted within the University building. Its faculty, which was very small, had always been appointed directly by the Council; but its members had collected their own fees, and divided what was left after paying necessary expenses. Save for the appointment of professors, therefore, the Council had exercised little control. Probably in the minds of both the Council and the Law Faculty—which consisted only of Dean Jaques and Dr. Isaac F. Russell—there was present the consciousness of the necessity of imposing requirements for admission and raising the standards for graduation, if the school were to survive. Such improvements would impose a financial strain, and university support was necessary. In May, 1889, therefore, the Council had voted that the fees in the Law School should go directly to the University Treasury, and the faculty be paid salaries. In this way the control of the Council over the Law School was made complete. Perhaps the first distinct sign of the new régime was the admission of women to the Law School, approved in May, 1890.

The independence of the Medical College was much greater; and a very severe crisis was to be suffered a few years later when the Council took over the control of that faculty. In 1889, however, the Regents of the State of New York first began their attempt to raise the standards of medical education by requiring the passing of Regents' examinations for entrance to medical schools; and the University Medical College could scarcely stand the shock of the inevitable limitation of enrollment, without ultimately entering into a closer University connection.

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Within the first five years of his entrance into office, therefore, the new Vice-Chancellor had made himself a living force throughout the whole University, which for the first time since its foundation gave evidence of integration and progress.

It had been possible, moreover, to make this definite advance without any material increase in endowment. The Vice-Chancellor had occasionally importuned the Council for financial assistance; but his requests had been comparatively modest. In January, 1889, he told the Council that the University imperatively needed \$200,000. Charles Butler had been a member of the Council since 1836, and president since Mr. J. T. Johnston's retirement in 1886; it is astonishing to find that this former adviser of Chancellor Mathews now became the chief support of Dr. MacCracken fifty-three years later. In March, 1889, he gave the University \$20,000; and on March 17, 1890, at a special meeting of the Council called at Mr. Butler's request, it was reported that he had just given \$80,000 more. His benefaction, therefore, was identical in amount with that of Loring Andrews in 1867. Mr. Butler specified in the deed of gift that one half should be used as endowment of the University College, in memory of his son, A. Ogden Butler, A.B. 1853;¹⁷ and the other half should be used as endowment for the schools of Pedagogy, Law, and Medicine, and the chair of Comparative Religion, in memory of his brother, Benjamin F. Butler, the first professor of Law in the University. Mr. Butler, who was also president of the Board of Trustees of the Union Theological Seminary, at the same time requested the Council to meet a wish dear to his own heart, by approving his plan for an alliance between the Seminary and the University. Such an alliance was, indeed, accepted. The University agreed to admit to

¹⁷ Who died in 1857, leaving a bequest of \$5,000 to be held in trust for the Eucleian Society and the New York University chapter of the Psi Upsilon Fraternity.

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its graduate courses, without fee, students from the Seminary, and to confer the degree of Bachelor of Divinity¹⁸ upon students recommended by the Seminary. The Seminary, in return, would admit University students, without fee, to its courses; and a reciprocal exchange of library privileges was arranged.

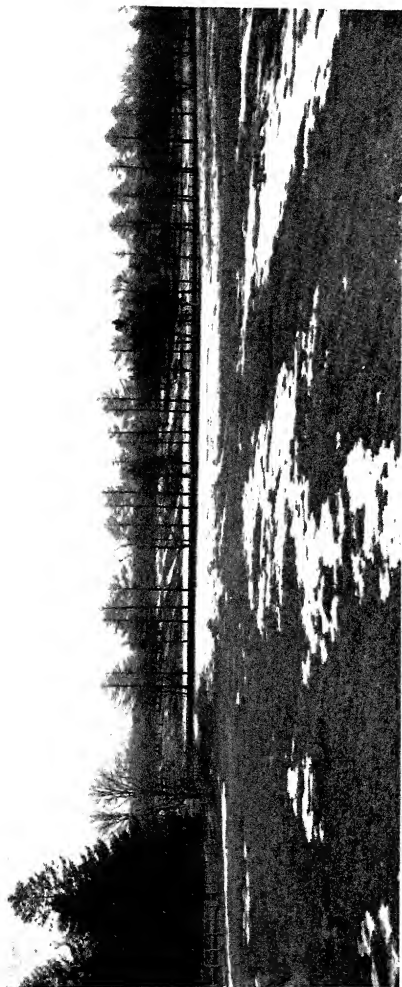
The Union Seminary may well have smiled at the last provision; for its own library was excellent, and that of the University was very poor. Since the crisis of 1838, the treasury of the University, astonishing as the fact may seem, had not spent a penny upon the purchase of books! From various sources, indeed, a good many books had come into the library, of which Professor Baird had long been in charge; most of them, however, had been given by various donors for the use of the Law School, whose library was combined with that of the College. During those fifty years, however, there is no evidence that either the faculty or the students complained of the poverty of the library. For the first time since 1838, the Council in January, 1891, was told by the Vice-Chancellor, that "working libraries" were needed by the departments of the University College. The Council graciously instructed each professor to submit a statement of what books he needed for such a "working library." Perhaps the professors were so amazed at the request that they accepted it as a jest, or perhaps the bibliographical work was too extensive; be that as it may, I find no reply made until, in 1895, Dr. MacCracken reported to the Council that "a carefully prepared statement has been placed in my hands by the professor of mathematics, which mentions as the number of books needed to make an ideal working library in mathematics eight hundred volumes." "If mathematics can use so many books, it is certain that each of the other thirteen departments can do so, also," con-

¹⁸ I cannot find that this provision was ever fulfilled.



UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS IN 1888

A view of the Mali stables, taken from the present site of the steps of the Gould Memorial Library,
looking northeastward



UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS IN 1888

A view of the northeastern end of the Mali estate. The row of trees marks the line of the McComb's Dam Road, somewhat to the east of the present line of University Avenue

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cluded Dr. MacCracken, with a certain *naïveté* which was unusual with him.

It is time that we should turn, with Dr. MacCracken, from topics of general university policy to the particular problems of the University College. In the first five years of his administration there had been few changes in that department. Dr. Hering was patiently, and with small resources, developing the laboratory of Physics. Professor Stevenson was still burdened with instruction in Geology, Chemistry, and Biology, assisted by Albert H. Gallatin in Analytical Chemistry. Dr. Gallatin retired in 1891, and was replaced by Robert W. Hall, a son of the Chancellor, graduated from Princeton in 1873, and from the Columbia School of Mines in 1876. Upon Professor Carroll's death in 1889, Dr. A. S. Isaacs, professor of Hebrew in the Graduate School, was temporarily charged with instruction in German, while William Kendall Gillett, a son of Professor Ezra H. Gillett, and a graduate of the University College in the class of 1880, who had spent several years on the continent in preparation for his career, was called from Lehigh University to be Professor of French and Spanish. Otherwise the College went on as before; and from year to year it was evident that all chance of growth under existing conditions was hopeless. Dr. Crosby's mistaken policy of free tuition still alienated the alumni; and to the old disadvantages of its mercantile environment and absence of athletic opportunity was now added the confusion produced by the growth of the Law School and of the School of Pedagogy. One can scarcely improve upon the description of the College in these latter days given by Dr. E. G. Sihler, who lived through them, in his history of the University, written in 1900:

The academic year being short enough as it was, the Seniors, on account of the ancient custom of rehearsing the speaking of pieces, were excused pretty nearly a month before the rest of the College. The absolute absence

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of opportunity for physical exercise and recreation . . . was painfully evident. When Comanche-like whoops in the general corridor were a daily feature; the *chiaroscuro* in the halls rendered the identification of malefactors difficult; and the transoms over the doors presented temptations for occasional fire-crackers, cramped youthfulness sought refuge in various forms of horseplay. The gloom of the chapel, the prehistoric ventilation, heating, and acoustics, the close vicinage of the rattle and roar of Broadway, the neighborhood of South Fifth Avenue with Parmesan cheese and macaroni, with the rising tide of the Law School contingent, and the gentler auditoria of law courses for ladies, all this constituted an academic locality incongruous and odd beyond description. Athena had but a precarious abode with Hermes dominating the environment.¹⁹

For some years in his annual reports to the Council, beginning with 1887, the Vice-Chancellor had tentatively recommended the restoration of a tuition fee of \$100 in the college; but he and the Council must soon have realized that this measure ultimately adopted to take effect in September, 1893, was perhaps a palliative, but not a remedy. Dr. MacCracken presumably meditated long upon the illness before he proposed a cure. I find no evidence of his diagnosis before his annual report made in November, 1890. Therein he analyzed the causes of the stagnation of the College in essentially the form we have given, adding, however, his favorite argument, the absence of denominational support. Now, however, he added that

the marked advance of business into the neighborhood of the University raises the question whether our work might be advanced by any change of place. The work for undergraduates might certainly be improved, were grounds of some extent within easy distance of the residence quarter of the city placed at our command, to which the stone of this building could be removed. Our work for the School of Law, the School of Pedagogy, and the Graduate Division (except, perhaps, in courses requiring laboratory work) can have no better centre than Washington Square. The University could well reserve for these objects the uppermost floors of a great building to be erected upon this site, while the other floors might add largely to our resources. The University College, planted in some easily accessible

¹⁹ E. G. Sihler: *History of New York University*, vol. 1, 184.

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neighborhood, would in a short time fulfill more nearly the American idea of a college than a college in a business locality ever can.

At the moment the Vice-Chancellor clearly contemplated a movement of only a few miles northward, perhaps to the neighborhood of 42nd Street, and the transference of the existing building to such a site. The Council took no immediate action; but three of its most active members, Messrs. George Munro, David Banks, and William F. Havemeyer were appointed a committee on Needs and Endowment. During the winter of 1890-91 they and the Vice-Chancellor made great exertions. Probably Chancellor Hall was active behind the scenes; for it was at the house of one of his parishioners, Mrs. R. L. Stuart, that there was held on February 26, 1891, a meeting pregnant with significance for the University College.²⁰ The Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. George Alexander, and Dr. Alfred L. Loomis of the Medical College presented eloquently to the friends of the University the proposals for an uptown movement; and ten of the invited guests agreed to act together to further the plan.²¹

At Mrs. Stuart's house, Dr. MacCracken proposed the purchase of about ten acres on Manhattan above 150th Street. Early in the spring of 1891, however, the Vice-Chancellor, driving northward across the Harlem, was attracted by the magnificent site, for sale on Fordham Heights, of the property of forty acres belonging to H. W. T. Mali.²² At once his original plans were abandoned, and a vision of a College campus more remote from

²⁰ The meeting was originally scheduled for February 20, 1891, at the home of Mr. John Stewart Kennedy, but was transferred to February 26, at the home of Mrs. R. L. Stuart. About 200 men were present. The addresses are given in full in the *University Quarterly*, June, 1891.

²¹ The committee of ten citizens thus appointed consisted of Edgar S. Auchincloss, D. B. Iveson, D. Willis James, Charles Pratt, Thomas Stokes, Samuel Inslee, Edward S. Jaffray, John S. Kennedy, John Sloan, and Kilian Van Rensselaer. *Minutes of the Council*, March 2, 1891.

²² Mr. Mali, although not a graduate of the University, had been a part-time member of the class of 1865.

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the heart of the city came to his delighted eyes. The cost of the property was alarmingly high—it was held for \$581,000—but, in such an opportunity, his hopes were as sanguine as those of Chancellor Mathews. He convinced Mr. George Munro; and on May 4, 1891, they persuaded the Council to take an option on the Mali property. The Council agreed that it should be purchased when and if a subscription of three hundred thousand dollars should be made. Convinced, either that the responsibility should be laid upon the shoulders of the initiator of the radical proposal, or that the glory of achievement should go where it was deserved, Chancellor John Hall resigned his office, on June 1, 1891; and Henry M. MacCracken accepted on the same day his own election to a position fraught with responsibility and opportunity beyond the ordinary.

CHAPTER VIII

CHANCELLOR MACCRACKEN'S ADMINISTRATION, 1891-1910

DID the example of New York University's projected movement to the northward play any part in the similar decision made immediately afterward by Columbia College? It is difficult to determine; but there was a curious coincidence in the fact that within a few months of May, 1891, the Trustees of Columbia College began their plans to transfer the College from Forty-sixth Street to Morningside Heights. Inevitably the coincidence aroused public interest in the relations of the two schools; and questions were asked in the newspapers concerning the advantages and disadvantages of having two privately endowed institutions in one city. Would not higher education in New York City profit more from combination than from competition? Most of the discussion was academic; one citizen, however, who remained anonymous, but who was apparently Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, announced his intention of contributing generously to the endowment of a university which should arise from the merger of Columbia and New York University. He asked that the two institutions should appoint committees of conference to consider such a union. On January 4, 1892, therefore, the Council of the University appointed in confidence such a committee, "to consider the question of securing a higher degree of unity in the university work of the two corporations"; and, learning that the Trustees of Columbia looked favorably upon the conference, Charles Butler, as president of the Council, in-

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formed the Trustees on February 2, 1892, that the Committee of the Council would welcome correspondence.

In reply, Dr. Seth Low, president of Columbia College, opened the negotiations by stating the principles with which the Columbia Trustees proposed to enter the conference. There were, he stated, "clearly two ways only by which 'a higher degree of unity' can be brought about. One method may be described as federation, and the other as consolidation." Columbia was prepared to consider any definite plan upon either basis; but they were obliged to say that federation in their view did not promise any advantage to the cause of higher education in New York. "What New York wants, as we interpret the aspirations of the city, is one university instead of two; and if there must be two, we incline to think that both will do better work by being wholly untrammelled." There seemed to be, he continued, only two plans for *federation*. By one plan, the two universities would suspend the granting of degrees, and become parts of a new institution which should exercise the degree-granting function for both. By the other plan, the two universities might agree to divide between themselves the field of higher education. The Columbia Trustees could see no advantage in either plan. Any arrangement of the sort would expose the two institutions to constant embarrassment and disagreement. If, however, the Council of the University had other plans to propose, Columbia would listen to them with careful consideration.

On April 19, 1892, came the response of Chancellor MacCracken to President Low's letter. Whether, he said, New York City aspired to have but one university, as Mr. Low had said, the University Council was unable to determine. In any case, they felt that it was impracticable, in view of the terms of existing endowments, to consolidate the two institutions. On the other hand, the Council did still continue to believe in the possibility and the benefit of

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some sort of coöperation; and, in spite of President Low's letter, the Council still hoped to receive further suggestions from Columbia looking to a "consolidation, partial or entire, immediate or ultimate, *quasi* or actual."

New York University had been visibly forced into the position of an unwelcome suppliant for favors; and that position was intensified by a reply from Columbia sent on May 19, 1892. "In the absence of a mutual desire to effect a consolidation, it seems a waste of effort to try to perfect a plan. . . . We have pointed out, also, the weaknesses inherent in the idea of federation; but we are entirely ready to give careful consideration to any suggestions which you may make." Not for seven months did Chancellor MacCracken venture to reply; and then only to say that the energies of the University were for the moment largely concentrated upon its own pressing needs, but that he hoped to have further suggestions to make during the year 1893.

Dr. E. G. Sihler in his *History of New York University*¹ says that the negotiations between the two universities "did not pass beyond the epistolary stage." From Chancellor MacCracken's next letter to President Low, however, written on October 24, 1893, it is clear that the two gentlemen met, possibly during the summer of 1893, to converse with greater informality upon the topic; it is also clear from Dr. Low's response that he himself had been persuaded to adopt a more sympathetic attitude. Dr. MacCracken now made, informally, specific proposals for federation: New York University should change its chartered name to the "University Colleges," abandon its examinations and giving of degrees, and become merely a teaching corporation; Columbia should change its name to the University of New York, obtain from Trinity Corporation a relinquishment of the conditions which make her especially related to the

¹ Vol. I, p. 182.

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Episcopal Church,² and should secure for the benefit of the University Colleges a certain sum of money per year.

President Low returned a prompt and courteous reply. He now declared that he hoped to see a union between the two institutions brought about; but that he was confident that unity, and not duality of control was the objective to be desired. He was sorry to receive the suggestion that the name of Columbia should be abandoned; and he was convinced the Columbia Trustees would not consent to this suggestion. He was also sorry to see the importance which Dr. MacCracken gave to the conditions attached to the tenure of the Trinity estate; Columbia was deriving an annual income of \$110,000 from this gift, and could not possibly, in gratitude to the donors, consider making a request for a change in the deed of gift. Mr. Low did, however, proceed to suggestions of his own. Why should not the two universities be united under the name of Columbia University of the City of New York? He would suggest that the two colleges, one to be called the University College, and the other Columbia College, could continue their separate existence under one control; and that on the new corporation the two existing bodies should be represented *pro rata* in proportion to the amount of property which each should contribute. He was convinced that the University College could continue to conduct its chapel according to its own desires.

Within a few days, on November 20, 1893, the Chancellor acknowledged this letter. It is apparent that he and the other members of the Council attached great importance to the question of the name and to the sectarian issue involved, and that their *amour propre* and zeal for parity were offended by the suggestion of the *pro rata* represen-

² By a deed of gift made in 1755, the holding by Columbia of a large endowment presented by Trinity Church is made contingent upon the president of Columbia being a member of the Episcopal Church, and upon the chapel services of the College being conducted according to the liturgy of that Church.

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tation on a combined board of trustees. In any case, Dr. MacCracken replied that "it has become evident to us that there exists an utter want of a mutual desire to unite in any plan of federation. . . . If upon some accounts this [continued] separation of work is to be regretted, still there must be essential advantages in our maintaining in this city separate and competing teaching faculties, working on different lines of thought, with differing methods, and with the zeal which friendly rivalry engenders." The University proffered its hearty wishes for the perpetuity of Columbia and its enlarged usefulness. President Low reciprocated for the Trustees of Columbia with an expression of their good wishes. The two universities had agreed to disagree. Forty years later it is generally admitted that there is plenty of opportunity in New York City for two, and more, large universities, and that competition is good for all; but it is somewhat more difficult to-day to recognize the "different lines of thought and different methods," which were so manifest to Chancellor MacCracken.³ To him there was a clear-cut issue between what he called the "liberalism" of New York University and the "conservatism" of Columbia College in the matter of ecclesiastical control, and he said publicly that there was of course a proper place for both points of view in New York City.⁴

With this interesting episode concluded, let us return to the "up-town movement." On May 4, 1891, it will be remembered, the Council had authorized the taking of an option on the forty acres of the Mali estate, agreeing to purchase it when and if a subscription of \$300,000 should

³ The material for this discussion has been largely taken from "Correspondence relating to a union between Columbia College and the University of the City of New York, submitted at the meeting of the Trustees held February 5, 1894," a pamphlet of 28 pages printed by Columbia College.

⁴ Chancellor MacCracken's views on this subject and on other educational policies are finely expounded in a speech on "A Metropolitan University," given before the Nineteenth Century Club on April 12, 1892, printed in *The Christian at Work* for May 5 and May 11, 1892, and separately as a pamphlet of 30 pages.

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have been made. Mr. George Munro's committee struggled manfully for a year to raise the required amount. Much encouragement was received, particularly from donors of relatively small sums; but the total amount was not forthcoming. It then wisely, if necessarily, occurred to the administration that, instead of abandoning the project, they might persuade Mr. Mali to sell his estate in separate parcels, in such a way that the University might at least acquire at once that part of the estate which was needed for a campus, with the expectation of buying the rest at a somewhat later date, and of re-selling it in house lots. Mr. Mali was not only persuaded to agree to this proposal, but was also generous enough himself to contribute \$20,000 to the subscription. In May, 1892, therefore, the Council voted to reduce the minimum subscription to \$200,000, and to purchase the most desirable twenty acres of the estate when that amount was available. Dr. Alfred L. Loomis, who had been professor in the University Medical School since 1864, was at this moment elected to the Council of the University, and became the Chancellor's most eager supporter in pressing the subscription. Early in August, 1892, the Council agreed to make the first purchase;⁵ and on August 11 the University bought from Mr. Mali a tract of eighteen acres, at the price of \$308,000.⁶ On the four other parcels of the estate,⁷ the University retained options which expired, one on December 1, 1892, and one on each six months' delay thereafter.

The Chancellor, in taking this decisive step, had experienced the inevitable disadvantage of securing the advice of the thirty-two members of the Council. From seven members only did he apparently receive constant aid and advice; at his suggestion, therefore, the Council on October 3, 1892,

⁵ Although, even in this case, the Chancellor himself was obliged to underwrite \$40,000 of the \$200,000 required.

⁶ Shown in red on the map of the Campus, *infra*, p. 422.

⁷ Shown in yellow, light blue, green, and orange on the map of the Campus.

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took the wise step of creating an executive committee and appointed Mr. W. A. Wheelock, '43, the Treasurer, and Messrs. E. B. Monroe, '55, J. S. Auerbach, '75, A. L. Loomis, W. S. Opdyke, '56, D. Banks, I. C. Pierson, '65, and G. Munro to membership on that Committee. Upon these men fell most of the responsibility in the critical and anxious months that followed the first purchase.

And those months were anxious indeed. To allow the rest of the Mali estate to fall into the hands of other purchasers, who would have no interest in the creation of the college community which was so deeply desired, was at all costs to be avoided; but those costs seemed overwhelming. To allow the property already secured to remain unused was suicidal. To arrange for the utilization of the old property on Washington Square, upon a basis that should at the same time permit the continuance of the work in Law and Pedagogy and also help to finance the development of University Heights was an enterprise of peculiar difficulty; and a transfer of the undergraduate college to the Heights was in itself a task requiring more than ordinary care. To all of these undertakings, however, Chancellor MacCracken dedicated himself. Although he had the constant help of a few members of the Council, the burdens and responsibilities fell mainly upon his shoulders. They must often have seemed more than one man could bear.

In November, 1892, when the period for taking up the first option was nearly at hand, there came a momentary and unexpected relief in the report of a large legacy from the estate of David B. Fayerweather. The munificent bequests of that celebrated leather merchant to a score of American colleges included a generous one to New York University. A spirited and notable lawsuit followed the probating of the will; and by December, 1892, the Council was convinced that the University was to lose its share. In the interval of hope, however, it had authorized the purchase of

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the tract between Sedgwick Avenue and the railroad;⁸ and a month later, in January, 1893, that of the land between University Avenue and the McCombs Dam Road, and of the tract between the railroad and the Harlem River.⁹ Of the entire Mali property only the six acres to the west of the present Gould Hall remained unpurchased; and the Chancellor was now convinced that those six acres must be added to the original campus.

Of course there was no expectation of holding these new acquisitions for University use. The only object in buying them was to control their future by placing restrictions upon their use, and, incidentally perhaps, to make a slight profit from reselling them in house lots. During the next few years, the University engaged in an active campaign of securing buyers for the two tracts which it named, respectively, University Heights East and University Heights West. The former tract was successfully resold, as the present series of private houses on both sides of University Avenue indicates. In University Heights West the University retained a small strip from the campus to the River, near the southern end, as a means of access to a future boathouse on the Harlem. Much of the rest was sold. A considerable strip, however, in the northern half, between Sedgwick and Cedar Avenues found no purchaser; and in 1897¹⁰ the University, through legislation at Albany, transferred it to the City, at no cost, for a park to be maintained at public cost. It is interesting, however, to note that in recent years the University has repurchased several of the lots sold in University Heights West; and now again owns a large part of it.

At this point it would be proper to add that early in 1893 an estate of fifteen acres immediately to the north of the Mali property came upon the market.¹¹ This was, like the

⁸ Shown in light blue on the map of the Campus, *infra*, p. 422.

⁹ Shown respectively in orange and yellow on the map of the Campus.

¹⁰ Chapter 654 of the Laws of the State of New York, 1897.

¹¹ Shown on the map of the Campus as the parcel marked "Loring Andrews."

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northern part of the campus, a portion of the former Berrian farm, which had passed through the hands of George B. Butler in 1864 to Loring Andrews, the University's generous benefactor in 1866. In 1885 the heirs of Mr. Andrews had sold it to the New York Skin and Cancer Hospital, which had erected a series of pavilions on the lawn in front of the stone mansion, for hospital purposes. In April, 1893,¹² the Hospital offered this property for sale at a price of slightly less than \$200,000. Dr. MacCracken, with speed and vision, grasped the opportunity. A year before this he had tried to interest the Ohio Society of New York, of which he was an active member, in contributing to the uptown movement, the inducement which he offered to the Society being the propriety of an Ohio group returning to New York City some token of gratitude for the city's erection of the tomb for General Grant, who was a native of Ohio.¹³ The Society had not exhibited much enthusiasm, but had appointed a committee, to encourage the Chancellor, on which William L. Strong, Whitelaw Reid, Thomas A. Edison, and Augustus D. Juilliard were perhaps the most prominent members. Mr. Juilliard at the same time accepted election to the Council of the University, and took particular charge of the exploitation of the Washington Square property. Dr. MacCracken now turned to this group with the suggestion that they should at least join with him in protecting the University by purchasing the Loring Andrews property. They accepted his suggestion; and on June 30, 1893, the fifteen acres passed into the hands of certain members of the Ohio group. The Chancellor himself showed his confidence in the future of University Heights by buying for his own residence the mansion with five and

¹² L. Duncan Bulkley: *Ebenezer: Notes of a Busy Life*, privately printed, 1925, gives a sketch of the history of the Hospital. The Hospital made a profit of \$175,000 on the sale of the property!

¹³ This episode is narrated in a pamphlet of 16 pages, entitled *Ohio Field*, published in October, 1892, by New York University.

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a half acres about it. Most of the rest of the estate was developed as University Heights North, under suitable restrictions. To this section, particularly, the Chancellor hoped to attract a church and various fraternity houses. Moreover it should be stated that the Ohio group agreed to give to the University any profits which might accrue from the resale of the property. Finally, the group agreed to give at once to the University the pavilions belonging to the hospital, to be used as temporary buildings on the campus when the College should move thither. In return for this assistance, and other subscriptions from the Ohio Society to the amount of \$18,000,¹⁴ the Council in February, 1894, ordered that the athletic field on the new campus should be known as Ohio Field.

The relatively enormous debt already contracted in the purchase of the University Heights property was staggering; but it was necessary to add still more by securing the small parcel¹⁵ west of and including University Avenue, without which the campus would be very incomplete. In view of the failure to secure the Fayerweather bequest, the Council seems to have been most reluctant to incur this further obligation. In May, 1893, they learned with relief of a bequest of \$75,000 made by Mrs. R. L. Stuart. It was, probably, a most unwise precedent to spend bequests upon the purchase of land; the Chancellor admitted that such a step was apt to be fatal to further bequests. But necessity knows no law; and the final step in completing the campus was at once taken.

The campus was secured. But where were the buildings, with the exception of the wooden pavilions provided by the Ohio Society? To move the undergraduate college with no other provision than the pavilions seemed hopeless; but it was still worse to remain at Washington Square and to

¹⁴ Of which Chancellor MacCracken himself contributed a half.

¹⁵ Shown in green on the map of the Campus, *infra* p. 422.

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know the Heights only as a property on which a heavy mortgage interest must be paid. For some months in 1893 the Chancellor hoped that the old Gothic building at the Square could be moved piecemeal to the Heights; architects' plans for the removal were made, and subscriptions solicited. But it soon became clear that such a removal would cost at least as much as the construction of modern buildings.¹⁶ In June, 1893, therefore, it was decided not to move the old building; and, in November of the same year, to transfer the College to the new campus as soon as adequate housing was provided. For a few months it was supposed that the old building would be kept intact at Washington Square, and that the space vacated by the College would be rented to other tenants. The structure, however, was too antiquated for commercial use; and the Bohemian colony of artists and writers which had long populated the upper floors could not be enlarged with profit to the purse—and perhaps the morals—of the University. To the great dismay of some of the older tenants,¹⁷ the Council on January 8, 1894, voted to demolish the old building, and to erect a ten-story structure in its place. It was estimated, with considerable optimism, that such a building could be erected for \$550,000; and the American Book Company had agreed to take a long lease of most of the building except the top floor at \$40,000 a year. On May 21, 1894, "with indignation, rage, and grief," says Mr. Bagg, the last tenant left his apartment; and the demolition of the building which only sixty years before had been the pride of the University was begun.

Such a step, it is clear, meant that the Council was now persuaded that the new campus would be ready for occu-

¹⁶ The lowest bid for moving the old building was \$257,000.

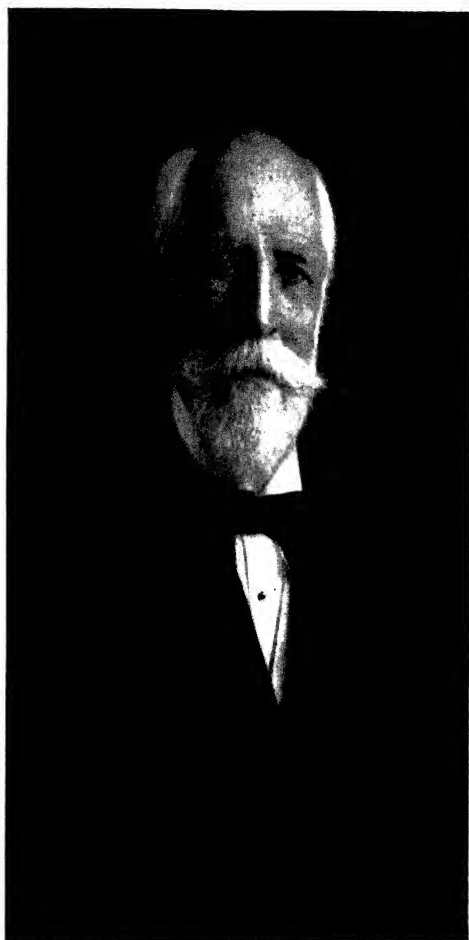
¹⁷ Their sensations are amusingly described by Lyman Hotchkiss Bagg in the *Biographical Records of the Yale Class of 1869*, vol. 6, pp. 24-32, 1895. He speaks of the "calamitous triumph of 'mickrackinism' which resulted in the obliteration of the University Building on Washington Square—the queerest and most admirable habitation whose presence ever graced this planet."

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pancy by the undergraduate college in the autumn of 1894, and that the new building at the Square could be completed in such record time that the schools of Law and Pedagogy could be housed on the top floor by the same date. To the financial burden was now added the obligation of extraordinary speed in construction.

In November, 1893, it was decided that the indispensable needs at the Heights were a lecture hall, laboratory space, a gymnasium, and a reading room. It was for a while supposed that the Mali mansion, built in 1857, could be remodeled to serve as the lecture hall. Further consideration brought the conviction that it would provide an excellent dormitory for resident students, at little cost for reconstruction. On February 15, 1894, occurred the ninety-second birthday of the venerable president of the Council, Charles Butler, who had served so faithfully on that body for fifty-eight years; and the Council honored the University and itself by ordering that the Mali house should be used for a dormitory under the name of Charles Butler Hall.

During the winter of 1893-94 four members of the Council agreed to divide among themselves the responsibility for providing and constructing the other necessary buildings. David Banks assumed charge of the gymnasium; Dr. Alfred L. Loomis, of the Lecture Hall; William F. Havemeyer, of the chemistry laboratory; and the Chancellor took charge of moving the pavilions, grading the campus, and constructing the heating plant. The total cost, it was estimated, would be about \$200,000; and they were able to secure subscriptions therefor to the extent of about \$120,000. Upon the property at the time of purchase, were the barn and stables of the Mali family, lying in front of the present location of the Gould Memorial Library. Mr. Banks undertook the work and the cost of moving and joining together these two buildings; and by the end of the summer of 1894 they were turned into a very satisfactory



HENRY MITCHELL MACCRACKEN
(*Vice-Chancellor, 1885-1891*)
Sixth Chancellor
1891-1910

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gymnasium, which Mr. Banks soon provided with excellent apparatus. For the construction of the chemistry laboratory, Mr. Havemeyer turned to Mr. Solomon Loeb, father of Dr. Morris Loeb, who had become professor of Chemistry in 1891, and secured from him a loan of \$40,000 upon very easy terms. In this way¹⁸ a laboratory was constructed, under the supervision of Professor Loeb, which was, after some delay in construction, ready for occupancy at the beginning of the following winter. Under the ever watchful eye of Dr. MacCracken the campus was graded, the heating plant constructed so rapidly that steam was turned on early in November, and the pavilions moved and rebuilt so promptly that the reading room, and space for the Physics laboratory and for the courses in Engineering were ready at the same time. In this case, at any rate, the traditional academic slowness was conspicuous by its absence.

It is particularly pleasing to note the devotion and interest which Dr. Alfred L. Loomis, a professor in the Medical College, displayed in his charge of providing a lecture hall. His conception called for an expenditure of \$75,000; and he had the courage to turn to the well-known architect, Stanford White, for the plans. With much energy he collected a subscription of \$45,000; and the building was occupied in December, 1894. To the great loss of the University College, however, Dr. Loomis died in January, 1895; and the University was compelled to find other means of financing the remaining cost of the Hall of Languages; part of it was provided in 1896 by a bequest left by Professor Vincenzo Botta.

In the spring of 1894, therefore, the faculty and undergraduates of the University College realized that their life at Washington Square was nearly over; and this realiza-

¹⁸ Mr. Havemeyer had guaranteed the cost of the laboratory in 1891; and the new building was at once given the name of the Havemeyer Laboratory. In 1898 the loan from Mr. Loeb was cancelled by a bond from Mr. Havemeyer, which was paid by him in 1900.

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tion was accompanied by emotions that were for the most part relief and joy, little mingled, it may be believed, with any romantic devotion to the abode they were soon to leave. Dr. MacCracken's keen interest in the history of his university had caused the establishment, in 1889, of an annual commemoration of its founding; and on April 18, 1894, Founders' Day was celebrated with a zest, the cause for which would have astonished James Tallmadge. Amidst enthusiasm and oratory the graduating class of 1894 began the demolition of General Tallmadge's "Temple of Science" by removing one of its stones, and escorting it on a tally-ho coach to University Heights, where it was placed as the cornerstone of the new gymnasium. The enthusiasm which the faculty shared with the students, was not tempered, we may hope, by the slight suggestion that the new college was to be a temple, not of science, but of athletics! ¹⁹

With the opening of the fall term of 1894 of the University College in its new home of beauty and spaciousness, we may well change our method of presenting the history of New York University. From 1831 to 1894 the College had been the nucleus of the University, if not on occasion almost the whole of it; the history of the University had been essentially the history of the College. Henceforth, partly because of geographical separation, and partly because of Dr. MacCracken's policy of integrating the professional schools, the University College, and its offshoot, the College of Engineering, are but parts of a greater whole. The history of the two colleges will be treated in separate chapters; and we must endeavor, in the ensuing pages, to view the history of the University as a whole.

Dr. MacCracken had, as we know, already given much attention to the improvement of the University School of Law; and during the period in which his time was chiefly

¹⁹ The ceremonies of the day are described by John V. Irwin, '94, in the twenty-fifth annual report of his class.

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occupied with the removal of the University College, the faculty of the Law School, under the direction of Dean Austin Abbott, was itself engaged in important changes. The history of that school receives separate treatment; but we should at this point consider its new relation to the University as a whole.

From the time of its definite inception in 1858 until the year 1889, it had passed through many vicissitudes, and the Council had from time to time paid it much attention, on some occasions with satisfaction, but more often, perhaps, with anxiety. At all times it had been in essentially all its features a proprietary school, like the Medical School, save that it possessed no buildings of its own, and maintained its quarters in the University building. The Council ordinarily gave the Law faculty a few rooms, free of rent, and contented itself with formally approving the appointment of the instructors, and charging a diploma fee for the degrees it conferred. Competition in legal education was not keen, and the school had ordinarily prospered and rendered a not inadequate financial return to the faculty. Like the Medical School, the Law School in general received any applicants for admission without any particular attention to their preparation, and was satisfied with their attendance upon two years of lectures, with no attempt at separating the students into graded classes. The State paid little attention to requirements for degrees, and merely declared that the recipients of degrees must have attained a certain age.

After 1885, however, competition in legal education became more marked, and its standards were simultaneously being raised. The proprietors of the University Law School were no longer assured of adequate, or at least of stable, returns; the Council of the University was dissatisfied with the standards of its organization; and Chancellor MacCracken was eager to bring it into a closer association with the University. The two professors of the School, David

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R. Jaques and his assistant, Isaac F. Russell, whom we have already met as instructor of Political Science in the University College, were without difficulty persuaded to accept a new plan of organization, which was made the simpler by the absence of any real property rights involved. In 1889, therefore, the School of Law became an integral part of the University. The Council agreed to administer its finances, and to pay stated salaries to the professors and lecturers, who should be appointed by the Council in the same way as those of the University College. The Council at once appointed Professor Jaques to be the Dean of the School of Law—the first use of this academic title in New York University—and provided the School with enlarged and improved space in the University building. For the first time in the history of the School the first- and second-year students were organized into separate classes.

Upon the resignation of Dean Jaques in 1891, the Council appointed Austin Abbott his successor. Son of the Rev. Jacob Abbott author of the "Rollo books," and like his three brothers, of whom one was the Rev. Lyman Abbott, a graduate of the University College, Dean Abbott gave himself with complete devotion to the improvement and enlargement of the Law School. A considerable increase in enrollment permitted the increase of the faculty to four full professors, in addition to several lecturers. The library, which had scarcely grown since the generous gift of John Taylor Johnston in 1858, was notably improved, chiefly through the liberality of Mr. David Banks, of the Council. A graduate course, leading to the degree of Master of Laws, was introduced. The progress of the school was so clearly marked that the number of students in attendance increased to such an extent that the quarters provided became wholly inadequate. To a considerable degree the sudden expansion of the Law School played a part in hastening the northward movement of the University College.

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The year 1894-95 brought to the Law School as many novel problems as it did to the University College. It would have seemed impracticable to most men to have the Law School continue its career in the new building at Washington Square while that building was in process of construction. To Chancellor MacCracken, however, nothing was impossible. A temporary wooden cage was built among and around the steel girders of the first story; and there the Law professors lectured until in the spring of 1895 they were at last able to move to the completed upper floor.

In 1891 the State of New York had given a charter to the Metropolis Law School, which conducted in New York City a three years' course of instruction, the work for which was given largely in the evening. Its standards of admission and the length of its course were both superior to that of the University School of Law; and it had secured a conspicuously able body of instructors. Its particular appeal, moreover, lay in the fact that its instruction was definitely modeled upon the case system, originated at the Harvard Law School by Dean Langdell, which had by 1895 shown strikingly excellent results. The University Law School had not as yet adopted the case system.

During the winter of 1894-95 the trustees of the Metropolis Law School were persuaded to approach New York University with the view of merging the two law schools; and in April, 1895, the negotiations were completed. The Metropolis School was to occupy the new rooms of the University School during the evenings; it was understood that for a few years the two schools were to remain practically distinct. The secretary of the Metropolis School, Clarence D. Ashley, was, however, to become Vice-Dean of the University Law School, in charge of evening work; and after a short period, the absorption would, it was planned, be complete. Professors Abbott and Ashley consum-

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mated the union in the greatest harmony; and the sudden and regrettable death of Dean Abbott in April, 1896, followed by the promotion of Professor Ashley to the deanship, brought about a complete unity somewhat sooner than had been expected. Among the other members of the Metropolis faculty who thus entered the fold of New York University was Frank H. Sommer, the present dean of the Law School.

The appointment of a dean of the Graduate School, John Dynely Prince,²⁰ made in March, 1895, was another sign of the healthy growth of the University organism, made the more visible by the selection, a year later, of Charles Henry Snow as dean of the School of Engineering. For a few more years, that school was to retain a formal connection with the University College; but its separate existence really dates from the appointment of Dean Snow. At the end of the year 1896, therefore, the Chancellor had five fully developed schools under direct University control: the University College, the School of Law, the School of Engineering, the Graduate School, and the School of Pedagogy. The Medical College alone bore the name of the University without direct control of the Chancellor and Council; and, as we shall soon see, in that very year the Medical faculty was apparently ready to follow the Law School under immediate University control. For more than fifty years the University of the City of New York had been suffered to remain a "chrysalis college." Now, under Chancellor MacCracken's direction, a true university was emerging. It is probably significant of the new spirit that the Council now requested the Regents of the State to sanc-

²⁰ Professor Prince was a graduate of Columbia, A.B. 1888, who had married the daughter of Dr. Alfred L. Loomis. After two years' study in Mesopotamia, he received a doctorate in Semitic Languages from Johns Hopkins in 1892, and became professor of Semitics in New York University in the same year. Upon his retirement from New York University in 1902, he entered the faculty of Columbia, and was professor of Slavic in that institution until 1921. Since 1926 he has been American minister to Yugoslavia.

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tion a change in name. Since the foundation, apparently, the University had been commonly called New York University; but the cumbersome old name—the University of the City of New York—remained official; and, while in 1831 there was probably a desire to suggest an intimate association with the municipality, there was now as strong a desire to avoid the suggestion of that association. In December, 1895, the Regents approved the suggestion that the name of the University should be modified; and on July 8, 1896, the seal and style of the institution was officially changed to that of New York University.

In the course of 1892, perhaps through the neighborhood of their summer homes in the Catskills, the Chancellor had interested Mr. Jay Gould in the up-town movement. Mr. Gould at once contributed \$25,000 to the subscription—becoming the largest single subscriber—and in October, 1892, anonymously pledged \$20,000 more when the entire mortgage on the new campus was fully cancelled. Hopes of still more liberal benefactions were, it is understood, entertained by the Chancellor, when they were dissipated by Mr. Gould's unexpected death on December 2, 1892. His daughter, Helen Miller Gould,²¹ was deeply devoted to her father's memory. She proposed to carry out his wishes by giving to the University the benefactions which his untimely death had prevented. For more than a year after Mr. Gould's death there is no written record of his daughter's interest in the University. In the spring of 1894, however, Miss Gould accepted membership upon the Women's Advisory Committee, a body created by the Council in 1890 for the particular patronage of the School of Pedagogy; and from that moment for many years her bounty to the University, in great and small things, was unceasing. As was very natural, her interest was first drawn to the School of Pedagogy, which received a generous gift

²¹ Now Mrs. Finley J. Shepard.

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for the endowment of scholarships. At University Heights, however, there seemed to be the finest opportunity for a memorial to her father. On May 13, 1895, the Chancellor told the Council, with emotions that need not be described, that Miss Gould had agreed to pay for the entire cost of a great library and administration building upon the new campus, and also to assist in the construction of a dormitory. On October 19, 1895, the University formally celebrated the opening of its University Heights Campus, and the construction of the Gould Memorial Library was, at least symbolically, begun; although for several years the donor and the dedication of the memorial were not revealed to the public. When in 1899 the plans of Stanford White took form, and it became evident that the western facade of the library would be rendered more beautiful by a colonnade, it was again Miss Gould who provided the means for building that colonnade, which was to constitute the Hall of Fame.

On that same Opening Day, of October, 1895, Miss Gould, again anonymously, completed her offer, made in the spring, of assisting in the building of a dormitory, by offering to undertake the entire cost. Within the next year the dormitory was completed, and, as Gould Hall, still marks the eastern boundary of the campus.

Of Miss Gould's endowment of the College of Engineering we shall speak in the chapter devoted to that School. She came to the financial assistance of the Medical College in its critical year of 1898. From her generosity there has come in all to New York University more than two million dollars.

During the years that elapsed between 1896 and 1904, the history of New York University was enlivened by one episode of unusual importance and interest; and it is time that we turn to an account of the eventful process by which the Medical College became an integral part of the University. The history of the Medical College is, of course,

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treated in a separate chapter; and it will therefore be considered here only from the University point of view.

When in 1841, after Chancellor Mathews' resignation, the Medical School was finally organized, largely through the exertions of Dr. John W. Draper, the control of the finances of the School and of the nomination of the professors was left to the "governing professors" of the medical faculty. The Council declined all financial responsibility, and contented itself with conferring degrees, for which it charged a fee, and with electing, without question, the candidates for professors nominated by the governing faculty. That faculty was to enjoy the profits or endure the losses which might arise from the conduct of their school. The Council, however, at the suggestion of Charles Butler, stipulated that it reserved the power of repealing and amending this plan of organization of the medical faculty.

For many years the Medical School, although under a heavy mortgage for its building, enjoyed material success and an excellent academic reputation. When its second building was lost by fire, in 1869, the Council of the University made some effort to raise a subscription for a new building. Only about \$20,000 was raised, however; and the new Medical School, which was constructed on East 26th Street, opposite Bellevue Hospital, was paid for, partly by this subscription of \$20,000, partly by a mortgage, and to a considerable extent by the professors of the Medical faculty themselves, who in return issued themselves certificates of stock. In 1883, to perfect this arrangement, the eight governing professors were incorporated by the State of New York as the "Medical College Laboratory of the City of New York." The property of the Medical College was transferred to this new corporation. In 1892 the State Legislature authorized the professors of the "Medical College Laboratory" to transfer their individual shares to the corporation; and also authorized the corpo-

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ration at any time it should desire to convey its property to New York University. At this same time, Colonel Oliver H. Payne, a patient of Dr. Alfred L. Loomis, contributed about \$150,000 with which the entire debt of the Medical College Laboratory was cancelled. In all these changes the Council of the University tacitly acquiesced. Upon the suggestion of Dr. Loomis, who was in the years 1892-95 one of Chancellor MacCracken's most trusted advisers, Colonel O. H. Payne was in 1894 elected to membership in the Council.

At a meeting of the Medical College Laboratory, held on March 23, 1887, Dr. A. L. Loomis stated that, about a year before that date, a gentleman (Colonel O. H. Payne) had "given him \$100,000 to spend on a laboratory for the exclusive use of the medical department of New York University, to be called the Loomis Laboratory of the Medical Department of New York University." Now that it was completed, it had been placed in the hands of five trustees: Dr. Loomis, his son, and three other gentlemen, who were not connected with the University, and was held by the trustees, so Dr. Loomis later affirmed in writing, for the use of the faculty and students of the Medical School. If at any time the Council of the University assumed the obligations of the medical faculty, the trustees, by their act of incorporation, were authorized to transfer their ownership of the laboratory to New York University. Considerable publicity was given to this generous gift; and for nine years, in the annual catalogue of the University, the Loomis Laboratory was advertised as one of the chief assets of the University Medical College. When in 1892 Colonel Payne paid off the debts of the Medical College, the three non-academic trustees of the "Loomis Laboratory" were also made trustees of the "Medical College Laboratory," which thus also came under the practical control of Colonel Payne's friends.

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At the time when these interesting events were initiated, the Medical School was still in a flourishing condition, at least from a material point of view; it is probable, however, that with the striking advance in medical education, begun twenty years before this when President Eliot had placed the Harvard Medical School under strict university control, the University Medical College had been constantly losing academic reputation. Until 1890 absolutely no entrance requirements were demanded, and the standards for graduation from the two-year, non-graded curriculum were relatively low. After 1890 the University Medical College gradually raised its standards; in 1891 a three-year, graded course was introduced, and in 1894 it was ordered that applicants for admission must present a "medical student's certificate" from the Board of Regents.²² However moderate such requirements were, they were at least an improvement upon previous usage; but there is some reason to believe that they were due, not so much to the convictions of the faculty as to the interference of the State.²³ In any case, the immediate effects of the new standards for admission were, if salutary, disastrous to the finances of the School. From a total of six hundred and fifty-one matriculants in 1888, the registration of students dropped to three hundred and sixty-three in 1895. In 1891, moreover, the Regents had begun the practice of examining medical graduates who wished to practice in New York State. The results of the examinations were published; from 1891 to 1895 the graduates of the University Medical School were next to the lowest on the list, and in 1896 they were lowest. Such a state of affairs was, of course, a matter of keen distress to the Council, the Chancellor, and to the other faculties of the University. The death (in 1895) of Dr. Alfred L.

²² At that time, apparently, based upon the completion of three-years' study in an approved high school.

²³ A statute of New York State, of May, 1893, required the medical students' certificate for admission to medical colleges in the State.

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Loomis, whose reputation had been of the highest in the medical profession, marked perhaps the climax of discouragement in the mind of Dr. MacCracken, who had presumably long desired to bring the Medical School under the control of the Council.

The appointment of a successor to Dr. Loomis, the unfavorable publicity resulting from the State examinations, and the decline in students' fees, had, as was natural, created dissension in the Medical faculty. In the autumn of 1896, one of the governing faculty, Dr. Stimson, consulted the Chancellor with regard to the proper method of removing one of the other professors, whom he considered incompetent. The Chancellor replied that the Council could not interfere in an individual case; but suggested that, if the Medical faculty saw fit to revise the entire arrangement of 1841, and to place its property in the hands of the University, the Council would willingly assume complete control of the personnel and educational policy of the School. In making this suggestion, the Chancellor apparently considered that he was in accord with the policy of the late Dr. Loomis, who had entered the Council, and introduced Colonel Payne into it, with the avowed object of reforming the Medical School.

Dr. Loomis and Colonel Payne had for several years been members of the committee of the Council on the Medical College; the committee, however, had been totally inactive, inasmuch as the Council had no control of the College. Now, at Colonel Payne's suggestion, two of his friends were elected to the Council, and placed on the Medical Committee, one of them, Mr. Henry F. Dimock, becoming chairman thereof.

On December 7, 1896, this reorganized Medical Committee reported to the Council that at its meeting held a fortnight previously, it had unanimously agreed to recommend to the Council that the Trustees of the Medical Col-

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lege Laboratory be invited to transfer its property to New York University upon the understanding that the University should guarantee a salary of not less than \$3,000 a year to each governing professor; and that the Trustees of the Loomis Laboratory be invited to make the same transfer of their property. As Mr. Dimock, who made this report, was one of the trustees of the Loomis Laboratory, it was assumed that both invitations would be accepted. After several weeks' delay, the trustees of the Medical College Laboratory accepted, and on March 1, 1897, the Council of New York University formally accepted the deed of transfer, and assumed all responsibility for the proper conduct of the Medical School. As the Loomis Laboratory was apparently held in trust for the exclusive use of that Medical School, it seemed that the process was completed, and that the Medical School had been wholly divorced from its proprietary character. The control of that School would now rest in the Council, and would be exercised through its Medical College Committee; the first task of that Committee would be the unhappy one of pacifying the dissension in the faculty.

For almost fifty years the Bellevue Hospital Medical College had been a competitor of the University Medical School, and, since 1869, a near neighbor on East 26th Street. In this very month of March, 1897, the Bellevue building was destroyed by fire. An alumnus of Bellevue, Dr. John P. Munn, who was also the personal physician of Mr. Jay Gould, had been recently elected to the Council of New York University; it occurred to him that the moment was an opportune one to merge the two schools. The reputation of the Bellevue faculty was excellent, and the University had much to gain by a consolidation, from both academic and material points of view. With the approval of the Chancellor, Dr. Munn extended an invitation for combination to the trustees and faculty of Bellevue on March 18,

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1897; and the faculty of the University Medical School gave its approval to the scheme. It was agreed that the faculties of both schools should simultaneously resign, and that the new faculty, of the combined University and Bellevue Hospital Medical College, should be selected by the Council of the University. On May 3, 1897, accordingly, the University Medical College faculty presented their resignations.

Chancellor MacCracken's version of what followed is related in Dr. E. G. Sihler's history of New York University.²⁴ He states that, for the guidance of the Medical School Committee in preparing the list of appointments, Dr. MacCracken secured confidential advice from all the professors of both schools; but that the committee refused to listen to these opinions, and accepted a list prepared by its chairman, Mr. Dimock, after consultation with only one or two University professors. Dr. Munn, in negotiating with the Bellevue faculty, had naturally promised its members that they would receive equality of consideration; but, states Dr. MacCracken, Mr. Dimock's committee would not listen to Dr. Munn's opinions. On May 14, 1897, the Medical committee presented to the Council, which approved them, the new statutes for the Medical College, and the list of the new faculty.

At once the storm broke. Dr. John P. Munn was to be dean of the Medical School, and Dr. Egbert LeFevre secretary; but of the fourteen members of the governing faculty, beside the dean, eight were from the University faculty, five from Bellevue, and one a new appointment. Two Bellevue professors were made emeriti, two were excluded, two were reduced in rank; while no member of the University faculty was reduced or excluded except two who were made emeriti. The entire Bellevue faculty, therefore, protested to the Council, that Dr. Munn's promises had been violated,

²⁴ Vol. I, pp. 218-19.

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and that the Bellevue faculty had been unfairly treated. The Council tried to arbitrate the difference by revising the list of appointments, and, on May 26, 1897, prepared a new list on which several more Bellevue professors appeared; this was apparently done by the Council without the approval of Mr. Dimock's committee. Mr. Dimock thereupon protested to the Chancellor that there had been a verbal understanding between himself and the Chancellor in February that the control of the Medical College was to lie, not with the Council as a whole, but with the Medical Committee, which should always be selected by the University Medical faculty. The Chancellor denied that any such verbal understanding existed, and insisted that the Council as a whole was to control the Medical School, in the same way that it controlled the Law School or the University College.

Disappointed in their efforts to work through the Council, the old University Medical faculty preferred to bring pressure upon their new Bellevue colleagues. By personal communications they tried to persuade the Bellevue professors of the impossibility of coöperation. At a hearing before the Council on June 8, 1897, the University professors assured the Council that the Bellevue professors did not know how to teach properly; and the Bellevue men complained that the Loomis Laboratory was closed to them, and that their new colleagues would not work with them. Alone of the University faculty, Dr. LeFevre assumed a sympathetic attitude. Convinced of the impossibility of coöperation, the Bellevue faculty withdrew from the combination, and proceeded to renew their former organization.

The Council was in a most embarrassing position. It could indeed refuse to reconsider the resignation of its Medical faculty; but it would, under such circumstances, be left with no Medical School at all. It therefore now voted to reëlect the old faculty, with Dr. LeFevre as acting dean, provided

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that each professor should agree to abide by the new statutes which gave control to the Council. Ultimately nine of the younger members of the University faculty accepted such appointments; but the six older men were restive under the new system, and hesitated to meet the conditions imposed. The academic year 1897-98 in the Medical School was, therefore, a most disturbing one.

At the annual meeting of the Council, which occurred on November 1, 1897, the issue was brought to a climax. Dimock's term of service on the Council expired on that day; and in spite of Colonel Payne's efforts to have him reappointed, he was not elected. Colonel Payne and his two associates on the Medical committee of the Council thereupon withdrew from the meeting, and soon presented their resignations.

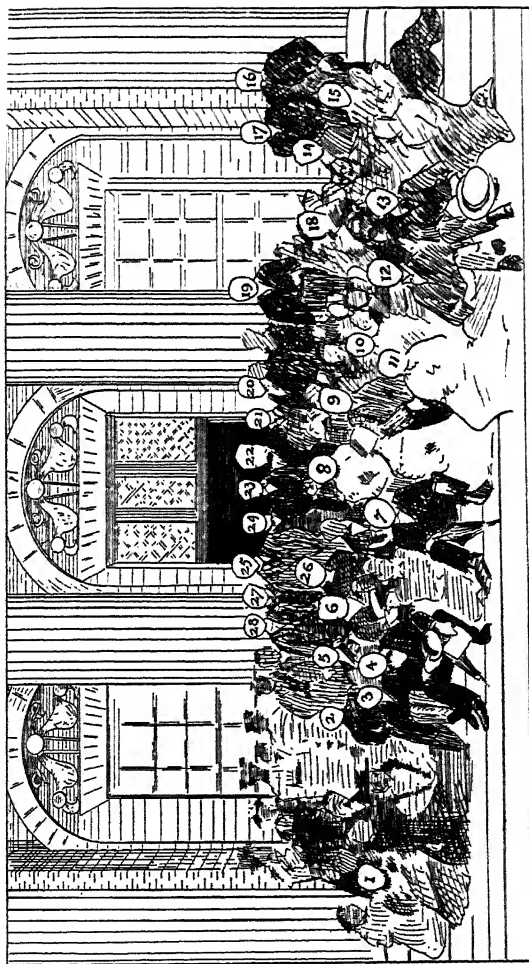
More than their resignations from the Council, they presented the demands of the former Trustees of the Medical College Laboratory for the return by the University of the Medical School property. The University, they said, had committed a fraud by accepting the deed of transfer, and not carrying out the verbal agreement which Mr. Dimock claimed to have had with the Chancellor. For two months the Council debated its action upon such a claim. Some of the older members of the Council—William Allen Butler and William S. Opdyke, for example—seem to have felt that the "verbal agreement" possibly had been made; but on January 25, 1898, by a vote of 13 to 8 the Council agreed to the Chancellor's motion not to return the Medical School to its old proprietary basis.²⁵ On March 7, 1898, after further thought, the Council agreed to submit the dispute to arbitration.

In April, 1898, however, the passion of dispute between the Medical faculty and the Chancellor was too charged

²⁵ It is fair to the medical faculty to state that on January 26, 1898, the faculty agreed to permit the *ownership* of the property to rest with the University, if the University should *rent* it to the faculty at a nominal rent for fifteen years.



THE SUMMER SCHOOL
University Heights
1897



1 Mary E. Bickmore; 2 Virgilia Schmelz; 3 Prof. C. L. Bristol; 4 Bernard Cronson; 5 Edna Hilton; 6 Edwin W. Stitt; 7 John T. Nolan; 8 Jennie Birmingham; 9 Prof. E. F. Buchner; 10 Ida (?) Ikkelheimer; 11 Miss Bliss; 12 Prof. Charles B. Bliss; 13 Bernard H. Kelly; 14 Mrs. Frank W. Pine; 15 Carrie (?) Ikkelheimer; 16 Prof. M. S. Brown; 17 Prof. R. W. Hall; 18 Mrs. August; 19 John F. Condon; 20 William T. Whitney; 21 Prof. Pomeroy Ladue; 22 Chancellor MacCracken; 23 Prof. E. R. Shaw; 24 Dr. Frederick Montessor; 25 J. J. Savitz; 26 Lewis W. Barney; 27 Frank A. Young; 28 Philip Fischer.

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with heat to permit of arbitration. The six older professors had before that date concluded an agreement with Cornell University, by which they became the nucleus of a Cornell Medical School in New York City, carrying with them the benevolence of Colonel O. H. Payne, and the expectation of the ownership of the Loomis Laboratory and the University medical buildings. On April 4, 1898, the Council of New York University dropped their names from the faculty list, and asked Dr. Munn to reopen negotiations with Bellevue. On this occasion they were speedily concluded; and on May 16, 1898, the University and Bellevue Hospital Medical College came definitely into existence. Of its governing faculty, the Dean, Dr. Janeway, and seven other professors were all drawn from the Bellevue faculty; only Dr. LeFevre, as secretary, represented the old University Medical School.

The question of the ownership of the Medical School property was long disputed in the Courts of New York State. *The Medical College Laboratory vs. New York University* was tried in the Supreme Court in May, 1901; the Court ordered the University to reconvey the property to the Laboratory. The University appealed to the Appellate Division; and in November, 1902, that Court confirmed the judgment of the Supreme Court. It may be noted that the case rested on the reliability of Mr. Dimock's testimony of the verbal agreement with the Chancellor, which the latter denied.²⁶ The University again appealed, to the Court of Appeals, where in 1904, David B. Hill appeared for the University, and Elihu Root, Bronson Winthrop, and Henry L. Stimson for the Laboratory. Again the judgment of the lower courts was affirmed; and the University thereupon abandoned its claim to the former Medical School building.

²⁶ Two justices of the Appellate Division, dissenting from the majority opinion, stated that they did not believe Mr. Dimock's testimony.

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More surprising still was the story of the University's loss of the Loomis Laboratory. There can be little doubt that both Dr. A. L. Loomis and Chancellor MacCracken believed implicitly that Colonel Payne had intended the laboratory to be, primarily of course a token of gratitude to Dr. Loomis, but surely also for the use of the Medical School of New York University. But Dr. Loomis was no longer living; and when the University sued the Trustees of the Loomis Laboratory for the recovery of the use of that laboratory,²⁷ Colonel Payne testified that "he gave the money for a Loomis Laboratory, to be entirely independent; that when he made the gift, there was not a word said about another institution; that New York University was not mentioned, and that he hardly knew of its existence; that he was in Europe when the act of incorporation was drawn; and that, when he returned, his lawyer said that the provision that the trustees might transfer the laboratory to New York University was inserted only in case the trustees wished to terminate the trust." The court found that the fact that the laboratory had been for some time used in connection with the Medical College, with the consent of the trustees, did not constitute a trust, and refused the plea of the University for the recovery of the use of the Laboratory.

And so it came about that, although from 1897 the Medical College became an integral part of New York University, the personnel of the faculty and the facilities for instruction were both inherited more from the Bellevue Hospital Medical School than from the University's own historic school. The later development of the Medical College will be discussed in another chapter.

To the six faculties of the University which existed in 1897—the University College, its offshoot the School of

²⁷ *New York University v. Loomis Laboratory*, 68 Appellate Division 635, January term, 1902.

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Engineering, the Medical College, the Law School, the Graduate School, and the School of Pedagogy—there were added before the close of the century three more, of which, however, one was not long to endure.

In September, 1899, the Council accepted into the University organization the New York-American Veterinary College, which resulted from the amalgamation of the New York College of Veterinary Surgeons and the American Veterinary College. The former of these institutions was established by Professor Alexandre Liautard in 1857, and was the oldest professional school of the kind in the United States. The means of both schools were, however, very limited; and it is probable that the Council expected prompt support from the State legislature. That support was long delayed; and the Veterinary School was from its beginning hampered by a meagreness of resources that was relieved only by the self-sacrifice of an enthusiastic faculty. In 1913 the Legislature declared it to be the State Veterinary College for the eastern part of New York; and it was re-named as the New York State Veterinary College at New York University. Curiously, however, the Legislature made no appropriation for its support; and for seven years the only appreciable result of legislative action was that residents of New York State were exempted from the payment of tuition! The third dean of the Veterinary College, Dr. W. Horace Hoskins, appointed in 1917, at the cost of unstinted effort secured in 1920 from the Legislature a grant of \$15,000 for the ensuing year. Sanguine hopes were entertained of a happier future for the college. But the Legislature did not renew its grant for 1921-22; and the death of Dean Hoskins in the summer of 1921 was a mortal blow to the school. In 1922 the Council reluctantly suspended its operation.

In the second place, the Council in November, 1899, undertook direct responsibility for the maintenance of a

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Summer School. For five previous summers, beginning with that of 1895, a small group of professors had, as a venture of their own, but of course with the consent of the Chancellor, given instruction at University Heights. Only twenty-two students appeared during the first summer; but the number soon increased. At that time University Heights was still rustic enough to provide an opportunity for a pleasant mixture of recreation and edification; but the growth of the Summer School was largely the result of new requirements of continuation study imposed upon teachers in the city schools. The summer students were, therefore, predominantly teachers; and the pedagogical courses were the main attraction. So small was the financial return to the instructors in academic subjects, and so relatively large that to the instructors of psychology and education that after the summer of 1899, when the enrollment reached one hundred, the Council preferred to take direct charge, in order to equalize to some extent the compensation. A director of the Summer School was appointed, and the fees were collected and distributed by the University. After 1900 the Summer School grew with rapidity, and in 1907 there were over five-hundred students in attendance. Many of them lived at the Heights during the six weeks' session of the school; and the task of providing commons and dormitories was a complicated one. Within another ten years the growing urbanization of University Heights made it less desirable as a summer residence; and since the World War the Summer School has been gradually transferred to Washington Square.

The third development which marked the end of the nineteenth century was the creation of the School of Commerce. The State of New York had recently instituted examinations for exercising the profession of certified public accountant; and there existed within the State no school which made specific preparations for those examinations.

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In December, 1899, the New York State Society of Certified Public Accountants petitioned the Council of the University to organize such a school. There were inevitably within the Council two conflicting currents of thought in preparing a reply to the petition. To be sure, the conservative tradition, which saw a complete incompatibility of temper between the market-place and the groves of Academe, would have been found more firmly entrenched in the faculty than in the Council; but the representatives of the older professions upon the Council may well have felt in a slighter degree the same emotion at the thought of the entrance of "business" into the University. On the other hand, to those councillors, like the Chancellor, who had acquainted themselves with the earliest history of the University, there must have come a recognition of the fact that at the outset the University, unlike the older colleges of the country, had particularly pretended to the function, among others, of training young men for the business world. In any case, the Council deliberated long upon the suggestion. If accountancy were to be taught, should it be introduced as a part of the curriculum of the University College? If, on the other hand, a separate school of accountancy were to be organized, should a bachelor's degree be required for entrance, as was the case in the School of Pedagogy, or should graduation from a high school suffice as in the case of the Law School? Such were the questions considered by Messrs. Cannon, Kingsley, Opdyke, and Havemeyer, to whom the petition was referred. During the summer of 1900 the committee completed its work, and recommended, not an organization to prepare simply for the accountant's examination, but a School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance, to give general training preparatory for a career in the world of business. The thought of making it a graduate school was abandoned, and completion of the work of a high school only was made prerequisite for admission. The

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degree of Bachelor of Commercial Science was recommended as an appropriate one for students completing the required two-year course. On September 24, 1900, the Council accepted the report of its committee, and the eighth degree-granting school of the University came into existence. Charles Waldo Haskins, an accountant of distinction, became the first dean of the new school; and from the University of Pennsylvania came Joseph French Johnson, to be secretary of the school and its first professor of Political Economy. Dean Haskins was not permitted to see the development of his zealous plans for the organization of his school. Upon his death in 1902, Professor Johnson became dean; and the later history of the School of Commerce, which will be told in another chapter, is largely the story of Dean Johnson's administration. The phenomenal growth of the enrollment—from sixty-seven in 1900-01 to nine hundred and sixty-nine in 1909-10—is one of the most marked features of the last ten years of Dr. MacCracken's administration.

It is evident, therefore, that in the fifteen years since Chancellor MacCracken had entered upon his service at New York University, there had been a remarkable enlargement in the activities of the University, accompanied by a steady increase in the number of its students which after 1900 became extraordinary. At this moment we may well ask whether this development had been a sound one, and whether the resources and endowments of the University were commensurate with the extension of its activity. Those fifteen years had without a doubt witnessed a generous increase in the material resources at the disposition of the Council. In 1885 the net assets of the University were about \$600,000, most of which was sunk in the old building on Washington Square; in 1901, the net assets were \$3,390,000, about \$2,000,000 of which was invested in the educational plant, about \$1,000,000 in marketable securi-

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ties, and the rest mostly in that part of the new building at Washington Square which was rented for business purposes. There had been, therefore, an increase more than fivefold of material resources made during these fifteen years. Those resources, however, were mostly in non-productive endowment; and it was annually necessary to use most of the interest on the free endowment to pay the interest on the large mortgages. There existed mortgages of \$500,000 on the University Heights property, \$250,000 on that part of the Washington Square building used for educational purposes, and \$70,000 on the Medical School property. It is easy to understand the despair of Mr. William F. Havemeyer, who had been treasurer of the University for ten years, as he made his annual report to the Council, in October, 1901. "Our deficit for the year is \$57,000; our floating debt is \$360,000; we are in the position of a gentleman who owns a magnificent domain, but has no income to support it." If Mr. Havemeyer had perchance heard that every student costs a university more than the student pays in tuition charges, he may well have shuddered at the Chancellor's yearly story of the constant increase in schools and students within the University. He may have felt that his fellow-councillors did not realize the gravity of the situation, and have resolved to disturb their equanimity by a personal protest. In any case he now insisted that he could no longer carry the burden of the treasurership under existing circumstances.

His protest achieved at least one result. From 1902 to 1909 the Chancellor was able to secure, not any noticeable increase in the endowment, but at least a series of annual gifts from various members of the Council, which, combined with the utmost economy in administration, gradually reduced the annual deficit, until in 1907-08, for the first time for many years, the budget of the University was balanced. The fact that this satisfactory situation was reached

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in the very months that followed the financial crisis of 1907 is another tribute to Dr. MacCracken's ability. Such dependence upon annual gifts was, of course, an insecure situation; but was more satisfactory than the threatening deficits of the preceding year. Mr. Havemeyer consented to serve as treasurer until 1904, when at last he insisted on quitting his office; he remained on the Council, however, for eight more years, taking particular pleasure in constant benefactions to the University library, which owes a large part of its collections in American History to his generous interest. Upon his retirement from the treasurership, he was replaced by Mr. William M. Kingsley, an alumnus of the University College in the class of 1883, who has remained in office until to-day and has, for more than a quarter of a century, given to his alma mater a loyal and wise service that has forever made the University his debtor. Mr. Kingsley began his administration, it may be added, by a very severe act of pruning; in November, 1904, he reported to the Council the sale of nearly \$500,000 worth of securities, from the profits of which he paid off a floating debt which was the result of accumulated deficits from the past.

Early in 1904 a combination of circumstances brought about a surprising development at Washington Square, full of interest for the future of the University. When in 1894 the University College was moved northward to the Heights, it was generally understood, of course, that henceforth all collegiate instruction would be given at the Heights, and that Washington Square would be reserved for professional schools only. For only ten brief years did this distinction continue; then, by the back-door, as it were, collegiate instruction returned to Washington Square.

In the fourteen years that had elapsed since its organization in 1890, the policy of the faculty of the School of Pedagogy with regard to the character and standards of the School had been indeterminate. It had, apparently, always

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been the intention of the Chancellor, if we may judge from the tone of his annual reports, that the School of Pedagogy should be completely a graduate school, and that none but college graduates should be enrolled, or, at least, should be eligible for its two degrees, that of master and doctor of pedagogy. The faculty, however, had not been of one mind on this matter. There were hundreds, if not thousands, of school teachers in New York, who wished to take advantage of the courses offered by the School, but, unfortunately, were graduates, not of colleges, but of normal schools only; and, on the other hand, those teachers who were college graduates obstinately persisted in preferring the degree of Ph.D. as given by the Graduate School to that of Pd.D. as given by the School of Pedagogy. The latter School had for some years attempted to steer a middle course by admitting normal-school graduates as "auditors," but refusing them the degrees of the School until they had satisfied some added academic requirements. Unfortunately there was no school at Washington Square where such added academic work could be done. Controversy within the Pedagogy faculty over the question of reconciling the graduate character of their degrees with the general difficulty of finding candidates for those degrees who were college graduates, became very bitter, and resulted in the spring of 1901 in the enforced resignation of the entire faculty of Pedagogy, including the dean, Professor Edward R. Shaw. A reorganization of the School followed. After an invitation extended to Professor Elmer E. Brown of the University of California, which was declined, the deanship of the School in 1904, was offered to and accepted by Dr. Thomas M. Balliet, Superintendent of Schools in Springfield, Massachusetts; and it was settled that degrees in Pedagogy should be given, as was originally intended, only to students who already held the baccalaureate degree. There now existed a clear necessity of

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providing at Washington Square work of collegiate character for graduates of normal schools. On April 11, 1904, therefore, the Council established the Collegiate Division at Washington Square.²⁸ It was to provide two years of instruction in academic subjects for graduates of normal schools and others of similar preparation, which, added to the work of the normal school, should lead to the degree of Bachelor of Science in Pedagogy. Because of the lack of laboratories in the Washington Square building, it was understood that the instruction in sciences must be given at University Heights, mainly during the Summer School; in other subjects, instruction was given at the Square on Saturday mornings and late afternoon hours, but almost exclusively by members of the University College faculty. The entire arrangement was an experiment; but it proved to be one which met an ever increasing demand, to such an extent that within less than ten years the Collegiate Division was to become a fully organized college with a faculty of its own. Incidentally, the income derived from the tuition fees in the Collegiate Division in most years played a certain rôle in reducing the annual deficit of the University as a whole, and helped distinctly in increasing the relatively meagre salaries of the University College faculty.

The ever increasing burden of administering a rapidly growing University, and the approach of age had now placed upon Chancellor MacCracken a responsibility beyond his powers. With much relief and personal satisfaction, therefore, he was able, in January, 1903, to secure from the Council the appointment of his eldest son, John Henry MacCracken, to the newly created office of Syndic of the University. Mr. MacCracken was an alumnus of the University College in the class of 1894 and had received

²⁸ The tradition is probably true that the initiative of this arrangement came not from the Chancellor, but from Professor Lough of the School of Pedagogy. If this be so, the organization of the Collegiate Division is probably the only change in the University from 1885 to 1910 which did *not* originate with Chancellor MacCracken.

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his doctor's degree in Philosophy from Halle in 1899. For four years he had been acting as president of Westminster College in Missouri, and had in every way received an excellent training to become his father's assistant. The duties of the Syndic were to be such as the Chancellor might assign; but it was generally understood that, under his father's direction, he would be especially concerned with the supervision of the schools at Washington Square. With this assistance, the Chancellor seems to have felt that he could safely continue his administration until his seventieth birthday, which was to occur in 1910.

It is pleasant to remember, therefore, that the last years of Dr. MacCracken's chancellorship were, in general, years of satisfaction, and to a considerable extent of enjoyment from the fruition of his long years of anxiety and labor. New York University continued to grow in numbers, and, it may perhaps be safely said, in prestige. Two particular events are worthy of record, as examples of that satisfaction.

In 1904 the property²⁹ immediately to the south of the Mali estate at University Heights came upon the market, after being for forty-seven years the home of the family of Gustav Schwab.³⁰ This estate not merely contained a mansion of large size and attractive situation, but was of historical interest as including the site of Fort Number Eight in the British system of fortification during the War of the Revolution.³¹ It was of the utmost importance to the University, for the protection of the existing campus, that this Schwab property should not pass into the hands of speculators in real estate. The Schwab heirs were generous enough to postpone the sale of their property until Dr. MacCracken could solicit a donor thereof to the University. His search

²⁹ Shown in the darker shade of blue on the map of the Campus, *infra*, p. 422.

³⁰ Cf. Lucy Schwab White: *Fort Number Eight, the Home of Gustav and Eliza Schwab*, 45 pp., privately printed, New Haven, 1925.

³¹ The history of the fort is described in John C. Schwab: *The Revolutionary History of Fort Number Eight on Morris Heights*, 66 pp., privately printed, New Haven, 1897.

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for such a donor was ultimately successful; and in December, 1906, he was able to inform the Council that an anonymous benefactor, who was soon known to be Mrs. Russell Sage, had given a sum of almost \$300,000, to purchase the Schwab estate. For the development of the University Heights campus nothing could have been more useful than Mrs. Sage's munificent gift.

Still more pleasing, perhaps, because wholly unexpected, was the news that the Chancellor gave to the Council just three years later, in December, 1909. For fifteen years the mortgages incurred by the purchase of University Heights, and by the new buildings at the Medical School made necessary by the loss of the old building, had hung as a millstone about the neck of the University. Now the Chancellor was able in one day to announce the possibility of extinguishing the entire mortgage. By the will of John Stewart Kennedy there was left to New York University a bequest which, when finally accounted for, amounted to nearly \$900,000; and which was left entirely unrestricted in use. The bequest was received during the summer of 1910, and at the opening of the academic year 1910-11, the entire educational plant was free from encumbrance. On the portion of the Washington Square building that was rented to the American Book Company, however, the mortgage still remained.

Two months after the Chancellor announced the Kennedy bequest to the Council, he presented to the same body, on February 28, 1910, his own resignation of the Chancellorship, to take effect upon his seventieth birthday, seven months later. To him New York University owes a definite number of things which can be specified, and have been detailed in this history: the purchase of University Heights; the new building at Washington Square; the reorganization of the Law School and of the Medical School; the establishment of the Graduate School, the School of Pedagogy, the College of Engineering, the School of Commerce, and

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the Collegiate Division; and, we may perhaps say, the munificent benevolence of Miss Helen Gould. But, in a wider sense, it owes to him, if not its actual existence, at least its rebirth from a sleep of fifty years.

CHAPTER IX

CHANCELLOR BROWN'S ADMINISTRATION

1911-

THE influence of Chancellor MacCracken upon the history of New York University had been amazing; without his directive presence the University might not have survived, and into its fabric to-day, twenty-two years after his resignation, are still inextricably woven the products of his loom. Chancellor Crosby would have with difficulty recognized the University of 1910; Chancellor MacCracken would be surprised—and it may be that his surprise would in some aspects be mingled with disapproval—at the growth of the University since 1910; but in few respects would he observe such revolutionary changes as he himself had brought about.

The history, therefore, of New York University since 1910 is largely the story of the evolution of the institution that Dr. MacCracken built upon the foundations laid in 1831. During these latter years, new colleges have been organized; new problems have arisen, and, it may be, have been answered; a new and much larger faculty has gradually replaced the older one; new types of students, in immensely greater numbers, have thronged the halls of the University; and those halls have multiplied in number, and augmented in usefulness. New York University has increased in size to an extent that would have seemed incredible thirty years ago. It would therefore be an easy task to sketch its growth under Chancellor Brown's administration by a statistical table of quantitative growth. That story, however, of outward and visible growth would be but half

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—and we may safely add the less interesting, if not, indeed, the less sympathetic half—of the story. The well-known lines of Ben Jonson

It is not growing, like a tree
In bulk, doth make man better be

are applicable to universities as well as to men; and to the historian of the University the most pleasing feature of the recent age is the improvement in quality that has in many ways accompanied the growth in size. In many ways, to employ a possibly rash metaphor, it has been the wish of Chancellor Brown to spiritualize the machine created by an earlier age; and the reputation of New York University has not suffered from his wish, nor from the watchful encouragement of the presidents of the Council, the Rev. George Alexander (1909–30) and Mr. Fred I. Kent (1931–). In 1911 many critics of the University existed; and certain of them, in positions of high importance in the academic world, declared that New York University was a university only in name. It is not for us to judge the reputation of the University to-day; but at least it may be said, without undue self-appreciation, that the name and fame of the University do not require to-day the defensive attitude which was not unknown twenty years ago.

A narration in any detail, however, of the story of the latest twenty-two years is not here to be expected. We are too near the events to secure a proper perspective; and it is a dangerous task to judge the ideas of living persons. To an extent considerably greater than in our earlier chapters, moreover, the history of those years is recorded in the chapters dedicated to that of the larger colleges. This chapter, then, will be little more than a brief, and, I fear, a prosaic chronicle of the more notable events in the development and progress of New York University since 1910.

Dr. MacCracken's resignation became effective in Sep-

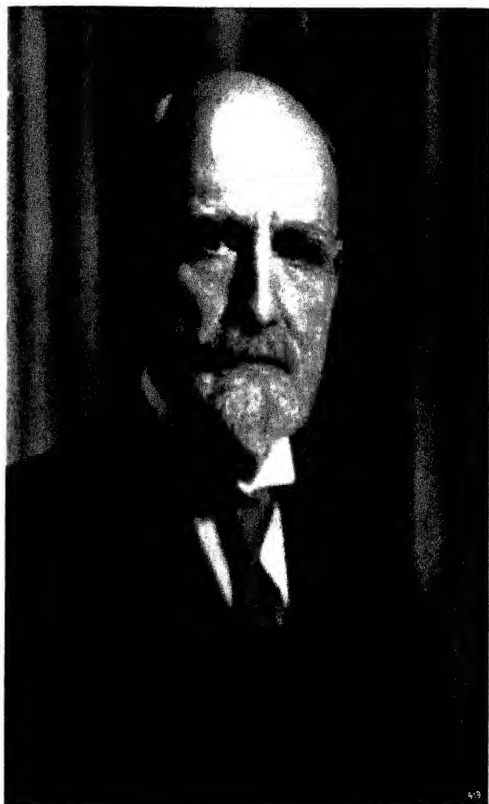
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tember, 1910. An able committee of the Council¹ devoted itself with much deliberation to the choice of his successor. It was at once realized that such deliberation would require many months. The Council accordingly requested the Syndic, Dr. John H. MacCracken, to act as Chancellor until an election should take place. From September, 1910, to June, 1911, therefore, the University was administered by the younger Dr. MacCracken. Despite the brevity of his service as Acting Chancellor, several steps of more than ordinary importance were taken under his direction; and each step marked a noteworthy advance in the standards of the University. Until 1911, for example, the School of Law granted its baccalaureate to graduates of a two-year course;² in 1911 the Law course was increased to three years. In the same year the Medical College ordered that applicants for admission to that School must henceforth have pursued at least one year of pre-medical training in college; this was the beginning of a long story of higher standards in medical education. In 1912, moreover, after the election of the new Chancellor, but directly under Dr. MacCracken's advice, the Graduate School made a vigorous advance in its requirements for the doctorate, especially by the provision that candidates should have a knowledge of two foreign languages.

On April 24, 1911, the Council received the report of its committee, and proceeded to the election of the seventh Chancellor of the University. The choice of the Council fell upon Elmer Ellsworth Brown, who was at the moment the United States Commissioner of Education. A graduate of the University of Michigan in the class of 1889, he had received a doctorate from Halle, and had then spent four-

¹ The committee consisted of W. S. Opdyke, '56, Eugene Stevenson, '70, George A. Strong, William M. Kingsley, '83, Willis F. Johnson, W. F. Havemeyer, and C. H. Kelsey.

² Except that those who followed the evening course were required to complete three years of work.



ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN

Seventh Chancellor

1911-

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teen years as professor of education in the University of California. In 1906 he had removed to Washington to take charge of the Bureau of Education in the Department of the Interior. On September 1, 1911, Dr. Brown assumed the functions of his new office at the University. Dr. John H. MacCracken continued to fill the office of Syndic until 1915, when he became president of Lafayette College.

The immediate result of the election of Chancellor Brown was of course to bring to the direction of the University a man who, from his lack of previous contact with it, could see its merits and its defects without *parti-pris*, and who, from his service in the Bureau of Education, could bring to its counsels the experience of other universities. It was, perhaps, not difficult for him to see that the previous administration had been, to a singular degree, the work of the Chancellor alone, and that the friends and the detractors, the strength and the weakness of New York University in 1910, were largely the results of the previous Chancellor's personal policies. It is fair to add that perhaps as yet the new Chancellor did not fully realize the obstacles, chiefly financial, with which his predecessor had had to contend. It is, therefore, interesting to observe that almost the first act of the new Chancellor, symptomatic of the change in administrative policy, was to take two steps which would scarcely have occurred to Chancellor MacCracken. In the autumn of 1911, Dr. Brown asked each member of the faculties to make detailed suggestions with regard to the improvement of the University; and simultaneously invited the federal Bureau of Education to investigate the standards of the individual schools.

Knowing what we already know of the meagreness of resources with which the University was attempting to meet the educational needs of its environment, and its dependence upon students' fees rather than upon endowment for its maintenance, we need not be surprised to learn that the new

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Chancellor at once perceived that the immediate financial needs of the University were great: he estimated that \$5,000,000 was needed to strengthen the schools that already existed, and that the future needs, if the University was to grow, were still greater; he estimated that during the next twelve years \$30,000,000 would be required for endowment. An appeal for financial assistance made by the Chancellor to the General Education Board met with an unsympathetic response. The result of the investigation of the University made in 1912 by the specialist in higher education sent by the Bureau of Education, although ultimately giving approval to the two schools at University Heights, was not, perhaps, encouraging to any further extension of the institution's work, without an enlargement of its slender resources. It was clear that New York University must work out its own salvation from within before outside help could be expected. The more encouraging, therefore, was the gift to the University of a second lecture-hall—the Cornelius Baker Hall of Philosophy—at University Heights, made by Mrs. John Stewart Kennedy, in May, 1912.

To some members of the University it seemed that the Collegiate Division at Washington Square provided the safest opportunity for meeting the needs of the city with the least risk to the institution. In 1912 instruction in the Collegiate Division was still largely given, as had been the case since its beginning in 1904, by members of the University College faculty, together with certain members of the School of Pedagogy; and the classes were still designed primarily for graduates of normal schools who wished to secure a college degree by two years' study in the Collegiate Division. The classes were usually well-filled, with students of relatively mature years; and it was not unlikely that, with the constant growth of the New York City school-system, the demand for such classes would steadily increase.

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There was, in the minds of those who now proposed to convert the Collegiate Division into a distinct and fully organized college, perhaps no clear picture of the issue involved or of the probable results. It is clear to-day that the suggestion almost inevitably involved a departure from the original purpose of the Collegiate Division, and a re-appearance at Washington Square of a college of arts and sciences, differing in nature from the College that departed thence to the Heights in 1894 only in its co-educational character. In 1912, however, the proposal to create a college at Washington Square probably assumed that such a college would continue to be primarily for graduates of normal schools, although in February, 1913, a course for one-year pre-medical students was established in the Collegiate Division, introducing therein a type of student very different from the normal-school graduate.

In January, 1913, Chancellor Brown, therefore, presented to the Council a proposal that on February 1st of the same year the Collegiate Division should become a separate college. It had been found impossible to provide endowment for the new college; and ex-Chancellor MacCracken strongly opposed the proposal, upon the grounds that sooner or later a college of arts without endowment would inevitably become a serious liability to the University. Discussion upon the proposal continued throughout 1913, in the Council and, at Chancellor Brown's suggestion, among the faculties involved. Professor Stoddard, dean of the University College, deprecated the creation of another college of arts; he believed that such a college at Washington Square should certainly be under the jurisdiction of the University College, and that to maintain two colleges of arts in one University was a serious mistake. On December 22, 1913, however, the Council approved the Chancellor's proposal; and the Washington Square College came into existence on New Year's Day, 1914. Shortly thereafter,

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the Regents of the State of New York gave their approval to the degrees of A.B. and B.S. which the new College offered.³ Chancellor Brown himself acted as dean of the College, until the appointment of Professor John R. Turner to that office in 1917. For a few years the Washington Square College retained most of the characteristics of the Collegiate Division; its students were mostly school teachers, and its instructors mostly recruited from the faculty of the University College. At the first meeting of the faculty, for example, fifteen of the twenty-two members present were also members of the faculty at the Heights. Rapidly, however, especially after Dean Turner's appointment, those characteristics were changed. A separate faculty was appointed, whose work was wholly given to the Washington Square College; and to an increasing degree the students became young men and women coming directly from the high schools of the city, and in great part from the newer social strata. From the beginning, its yearly growth was large; but after the World War that growth became enormous, and ever more space was required by the infant College. Unfortunately no endowment was secured; but in its earlier years it was easy to maintain the College upon tuition fees only, and to hand over at the same time a handsome surplus to the University treasury. As the College was stabilized, and the faculty matured in years, the problem of maintenance was to become less easy. A more detailed account of the ideals and growth of the Washington Square College will be found in Chapter XVI.

The three years before the entry of America into the World War were years of much interest to the University in other ways than in the sudden growth of the Washington Square College. The School of Commerce advanced the requirements for the B.C.S. degree from two to three years;

³ The Collegiate Division had given only the degree of Bachelor of Science in *Pedagogy*.

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and at the same time established a graduate division, to grant the degree of Master of Commercial Science. Dean Ashley of the Law School died in January, 1916, and was succeeded by Professor Frank H. Sommer, who, like his predecessor, had come to the University at the time of the merger of the Metropolis Law School.

In the Medical School, the lamented death of Dean LeFevre, in 1914, was followed, after the two years' deanship of Dr. William H. Park, by the appointment to that office of Dr. Samuel A. Brown. The new dean found the conditions of the Medical School rapidly changing. The requirement, made in 1912, of one year's college work for entrance had scarcely affected, even momentarily, the enormous increase in prospective physicians; and in 1916 the Council approved the addition of a second year's collegiate study for entrance to the Medical School. It was stated at the time, by a man high in authority in the University, that two years of pre-medical collegiate training would remain for a long time, if not permanently, the minimum requirement for entrance to the Medical School. Within less than ten years, however, that School was practically requiring three years of collegiate preparation; and since September, 1930, only students eligible for the bachelor's degree have been admitted. The University and Bellevue Hospital Medical College has at last become completely a graduate school.

A minor but typical event of this early period of Chancellor Brown's administration was the establishment in 1916 of the New York University Press. Devoted primarily to the publication of contributions to higher learning not commercially profitable, and relying therefore for its maintenance upon the limited profits of the Press Bookstores, upon specific grants from the University and from certain foundations, and, too often, upon the financial coöperation of the author, the New York University Press has made its

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contribution to the work of the University not in terms of quantity production and best sellers, or, save incidentally, in terms of distinguished typography, but rather in an earnest endeavor, through detailed editorial supervision and through the coöperation of eminent scholars in our own and in other universities, to give to each book accepted for publication what can rarely be given by commercial publishers: the meticulous accuracy and the scholarly form appropriate to scholarly content.

In the five years which ended in 1917, the year of America's entry into the War, the most striking outward phenomenon of the University, as has been suggested, was an astonishing growth in size. During that brief period, the total registration of students more than doubled: from about 4,300 in 1912, to about 9,300 in 1917.⁴ It is not necessary to explain that such an extraordinary growth was at the same time encouraging and depressing. Chancellor Crosby, thirty-five years previously, would not have been distressed to learn that the immediate problem of the administration was, not to find students to fill the available space, but rather to find space for the students. It was presumably encouraging to realize that New York University had in size become one of the largest universities in the United States, and that it was at last giving New York City the educational opportunities which the city asked; Albert Gallatin would, we may venture to say, have been delighted. It is always pleasant, especially in the United States, for members of an institution to be able to speak with satisfaction of its size; we may perhaps believe that the masters and students of the medieval University of Paris did not deprecate the size of that University. On the other hand, there will always be, even in the United States, critics to point out that the merits of a university cannot be judged to any proper extent from the criterion of its size. In his fifth annual report, Chan-

⁴ The greatest increase was in the enrollment of the School of Commerce.

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cellor Brown honestly and ably presented this point of view; and insisted that the main thoughts which came to him as the result of this enormous growth were an appalling responsibility and a realization of the inadequacy of the University's resources.

And, indeed, the Council could but look with deepest anxiety at a growth of one hundred percent in enrollment which had been accompanied, in the same five-year interval, by a growth of only ten percent in the capital endowment of the University. As long as the annual increase of students continued, and as long as the inevitable cost of making renovations could be postponed, the University could apparently meet its necessary financial obligations; but every year before the War saw a considerable addition to the floating debt. If any difficulty occurred in the normal growth of the University, a crisis would be at hand.

That crisis came with the spring of 1917. The entrance of the United States into the World War created a situation in which the University was proud to play its part,⁵ but one also which for the moment threatened to wreck the finances of the University. The decline in enrollment, and the increasing expenses produced by a war economy, created a stupendous deficit for the year 1917-18, and one which the University, with its meagre endowment, could with difficulty endure.

In the chapters devoted to the separate colleges of the University the story will be told of the specific ways in which those schools were affected by, and met the problems arising from, the World War. The request of the United States Government that the University receive branches of the Student Army Training Corps at University Heights and at the Medical College was pleasing to the patriotic zeal of the University; and at the same time saved the University from financial collapse. For the year 1918-19 the University

⁵ Forty-seven students and alumni of the University gave their lives in the War.

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treasury was able to report a small surplus. In that year, also, the University was the recipient of a generous bequest of nearly half a million dollars by the will of Mrs. Russell Sage, who ten years before, as we have seen, had given the southern portion of the University Heights Campus. With the Sage bequest the University was enabled to construct a laboratory for the School of Engineering, the first permanent building which that College secured. With another portion of Mrs. Sage's gift, the University purchased the former property of the Trinity School on Trinity Place, which has since been used for the Wall Street Division of the School of Commerce, and for the Graduate School of Business Administration (made a separate faculty in 1920). In this way, New York University added a fourth location to its educational plant.

In the six years that followed the close of the World War, in spite of continued abnormal growth in the number of students, augmented rather than checked by post-war conditions, the University enjoyed a period of comparative stabilization and financial ease. The appointment of Professor Marshall S. Brown, of the department of History, to the newly created office of Dean of the Faculties, in November, 1918, was designed to facilitate the preparation of the annual budget, and to reconcile the conflicting ambitions of the separate schools. While the principle of autonomy for those schools was retained, so far as possible, the creation of a new administrative dean, whose authority was, as it were, federal in character, strengthened to a considerable degree the central University system; and it is noteworthy that from 1918 to 1924 the University was able to operate without a deficit. This was the more fortunate, because at the same time it was possible in 1920 to increase the salaries of the faculty in a way that to a large extent compensated for the increased cost of living created by the War.

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Still more happy was the success of an attempt made in 1922 to provide improved and enlarged quarters in the Washington Square building. Since 1894 the University had occupied only the three uppermost stories of that building: those stories, in Dr. MacCracken's original plan, were to be shared by the Schools of Law and Pedagogy, and the Graduate School. Indeed, a portion of the eighth story was for many years rented for commercial purposes. The other seven stories, heavily mortgaged, had long been leased to the American Book Company. The School of Pedagogy had not prospered, in size at least, for some years; but the Law School and the Graduate School were both steadily increasing, and the new schools opened since 1895, the School of Commerce, the Washington Square College, and the School of Retailing (organized in 1921) were making ever greater demands for space. For some years it had been necessary to rent space here and there in the neighborhood; but, of course, with the approaching term of the American Book Company's lease, it was most desirable to take over the rest of the University's own building. Vigorous efforts were made by Chancellor Brown to secure the necessary capital; and, thanks to the generous support of the alumni, of the General Education Board, and of the Carnegie Corporation, those efforts were not in vain. During 1922 the University was able, not merely to pay off the debt incurred during the hard years preceding 1918, but to cancel entirely the mortgages on the two properties at Washington Square and Trinity Place, and to take over and remodel for classroom use all but the first two stories of the Washington Square building.⁶ The five stories thus made available for use by the University, not only provided space for the Washing-

⁶ The American Book Company retained the lease of these first two stories until May, 1927, when they, too, were taken over for use by the University. It is of interest to know that in 1921 the Council seriously considered an offer by the American Book Company to purchase the entire building, believing that it might be in this way possible to secure more adequate quarters for its downtown schools than those provided at Washington Square.

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ton Square College, which from this moment began an extraordinary growth, but also permitted the possibility, for the first time at Washington Square, of allowing space for growth of a library commensurate with the demands of the colleges situated at the Square.

More pleasing to the University than these material gains was surely the satisfaction derived from the consciousness that, for the first time in its history, the alumni had materially contributed to its support, and that two organizations with such exacting standards as the General Education Board and the Carnegie Corporation should have given sympathetic approval to the ideals represented by the University. To Chancellor Brown the response of the General Education Board must have been doubly satisfying, in view of the failure of the Board to approve his appeal made in 1912.

The School of Pedagogy had not in recent years kept pace with the other schools at Washington Square from the point of view of growth. Its former large classes of school teachers, enrolled not for a higher degree, but for special work in education, had dwindled as a result of competition from the free colleges maintained by the City; and its advanced degrees of Master and Doctor of Pedagogy had not become popular, the degrees of A.M. and Ph.D. in the Graduate School having more appeal for teachers. Upon the retirement of Dean Balliet in 1921, Dr. John W. Withers, Superintendent of Schools in St. Louis, was appointed to the deanship. He at once laid plans for giving the School a more popular appeal. In 1922 the Council approved a change of name for the college, which now became the School of Education; and in the same year it granted to that School the right to present candidates for the degrees of A.M. and Ph.D. This experiment immediately attracted more graduate students to the School of Education; but the fact that two separate schools of the University, the Grad-

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uate School and the School of Education, conferred the same graduate degrees was likely to create a certain amount of confusion with regard to the status of those two schools. At the same time, the School of Education resumed the former functions of the Collegiate Division; and a large undergraduate division was organized to present candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Science in Education.

In 1924, Dean Withers, encouraged by the success of his first undertaking, embarked upon a more ambitious one, and laid plans for a much greater expansion of his School. During the years from 1925 to 1928 the faculty of the School and its curriculum were very greatly enlarged; and in 1929 the School of Education at last left the old building at Washington Square and moved into a fine new building of its own, to the southeast of its former home.

The School of Commerce had quite naturally the same ambitions for a building of its own; and the sudden growth of the Washington Square College apparently made such a change necessary. In the last years of his life Dean Johnson had constantly moved his school in the direction of higher requirements for its degrees. Upon his death, in October, 1925, Professor John T. Madden was named his successor; and at the same time the course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Commercial Science was lengthened to one of four years; and a new course of four years, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science was introduced, and approved by the Regents of the State. Finally, in the autumn of 1926, the School of Commerce was able to occupy its own building on Washington Square, to the south of Fourth Street.

After 1928, then, the entire building at Washington Square, which must now be called the "old building," although but thirty-three years old, was left to the use of the Law School, the Graduate School, and the Washington Square College. The School of Law was at last in a position

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where it both desired and was enabled to advance its standards. From 1926 applicants for admission were required to have completed two years of collegiate study; and, as in the former case of the Medical School, there has been a constant tendency to make this a minimum requirement only. In 1929 the Law School was investigated, at its own request, by a committee of the Bar Association, and, after a slight change in arrangements made for part-time students, received from the Association the rank of a Grade A school.

The Washington Square College, which took over the rooms in the old building as they were vacated by the Schools of Education and Commerce, was thereby able to find space for the laboratories it so badly needed. Dean Turner resigned in January, 1928, to accept the presidency of West Virginia University; but before he left Washington Square, the laboratories had been largely provided. The lack of a sufficient library—both of books and of space to put them—remained as perhaps the weakest side of the new college. After the appointment of Dr. James B. Munn to the deanship, books were generously provided by a munificent gift from an anonymous donor; but the space for them remains to be provided, and must be ultimately sought in another building.

In 1925, the College of Engineering was honored by a gift of \$500,000 from Mr. Daniel Guggenheim, for the establishment of a department of Aeronautics. About half of the endowment was used for the construction of an Aeronautics building, the second permanent building secured by the College of Engineering; and the rest was invested for the maintenance of a department which has naturally aroused much interest in the public.

In the same year, the Council after long deliberation decided to accept the proposal of the New York College of Dentistry, a school founded in 1866, and to build upon the

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foundations of that institution a University College of Dentistry which should be of the first rank. Dr. Holmes C. Jackson, professor of physiology in the Medical College, accepted the deanship of the Dental College, and in the two brief years which elapsed before his early death, worked wonders with its reorganization. In 1929 the Council selected Dr. Allen T. Newman, formerly dean of the Dental School of the University of Denver, for the second dean of the College; and before his appointment, in 1928, during the acting deanship of Professor Marshall S. Brown, it had been accepted as a Grade A school by the Dental Educational Council of America.

The last addition to the degree-granting schools of New York University before the centennial year was the College of Fine Arts. Included in the first faculty of the University, as we have seen, was a professor of the Arts of Design, Samuel F. B. Morse. But Professor Morse's attention had soon been diverted to other interests; and, although for over forty years a professorship of Fine Arts appeared in the annual catalogue of the University, there is no evidence of any other than a nominal connection with the University of either Professor Morse, or Thomas S. Cummings, his associate in the chair from 1844 to 1867, or T. Addison Richards, who succeeded Professor Cummings at his death. During the years 1887-1889, a brief temporary reappearance of instruction in the Fine Arts in the University occurred through lectures given in the Graduate School by Dr. Wallace Wood. The appointment of Dr. Fiske Kimball in 1922 to Professor Morse's chair was therefore an interesting event. Although Mr. Kimball resigned in 1924, the department of Fine Arts, under the particular patronage of General Charles H. Sherrill of the Council, developed, and secured the generous support of the Altman Foundation and the coöperation of the National Academy of Design. In 1928 it was created into an autonomous school, the

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College of Fine Arts, presenting candidates for the degrees of Bachelor of Architecture and Bachelor of Fine Arts. After an interval of eighteen months, during which Dean Munn of the Washington Square College directed it, the deanship was in 1930 given to E. Raymond Bossange, formerly director of the School of Architecture at Princeton; and the youngest of the twelve degree-conferring schools of New York University assumed definite form.

It is needless to add that in the years since 1924 the needs of the University have expanded in due ratio with the increase of the service it renders to the community and with the growing complexity of its organization. During these years, the cost of its operation has vastly increased. Munificent contributions have poured into its treasury, from the bequests of Miss Emily Ogden Butler, the daughter of Charles Butler, former president of the Council, and of Mr. William H. Nichols, B.S. 1870, and from the gifts of Mr. and Mrs. Percy S. Straus and of Mr. George F. Baker, of New York City, and in smaller amounts from many generous alumni and patrons. To a greater extent, however, than is the case with any other large American university, and also than is compatible with financial security, the University continues to depend upon the fees paid annually by its forty thousand students.

In the years 1931 and 1932, New York University has celebrated the centennial of its foundation. We should be rash, I imagine, were we to venture to guess what estimate Wainwright and Delafield, Mathews and Gallatin would make of the success of the institution that they founded. Would they be willing to accept the University of to-day as a realization of their own vision? Has it remained true to their own ideals, and does it merit in 1932 the popular confidence, the approval of the professions and of the laity, of town and of gown, which the founders expected but which they failed to secure? The academic ideals of our own gen-

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eration are to some extent different from those of our great-grandfathers, or, at least, our ideals often assume different forms. Can we with any security, for example, imagine the sensations of Chancellor Mathews had he been present at the centennial commencement? Would Albert Gallatin, could he have been reëlected to the presidency of the Council in 1931, consider that the University is to some extent at least "raising the standard of general education and the mind of the laboring classes nearer to a level with those born under more favorable circumstances,"⁷ or would he again prefer to resign the presidency, believing that his desire to provide New York City with a "general system of rational and practical education" was nearly unattainable? Gallatin's language seems rather stilted to-day; but his thought is clear. I imagine that at the centennial commencement Dr. Mathews would have frowned, with anger and dismay, at much that he would see. I cannot but believe that Albert Gallatin would have bestowed upon the proceedings a smile of generous approval, and of confidence that the second hundred years of New York University will be marked by a progress to still greater realization of the original ideal.

⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 30.

CHAPTER X

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IN beginning a survey of the development of the University College from 1894 to the present, it will be well to review briefly the situation of that school at the time of its migration to the north.

It was a relatively small college. There had been a slight annual increase of students since the critical days of 1882; but during 1893-4, the last year at Washington Square, the College had an enrollment of one hundred and sixty-six students only, and that number included those who were principally interested in the study of Engineering. Admission to the College was secured, not by certificates from high schools—for high schools did not exist in New York City even as late as 1893—but as the result of entrance examinations held by the College itself. Candidates for the A.B. degree not only submitted Greek and Latin for entrance but also pursued them in College. Students who presented modern instead of the classical languages for entrance were admitted to candidacy for the B.S. degree. The curricula of both the “classical” and the “scientific” courses were rather strictly prescribed, as they had existed since the early days of Dr. Crosby’s administration; and very few “electives” were allowed. All of the college work was carried on in less than twenty rooms of the old building. No dormitories and no athletic facilities existed; and, in spite of the natural desires of some of the undergraduates to rival the students of other institutions in “college spirit,” the opportunities were lacking, and the University College was necessarily a “day school,” swamped by the noisy city without. The social life of the students, apart from their life at home, was lim-

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ited to a few fraternities and the two "literary" societies. It may be added that the college library had scarcely grown, except by occasional small gifts, from 1838 to 1892; and that its first important accretion in over fifty years, the oriental library of Professor Lagarde of Göttingen, secured by the exertions of Professor Prince in 1892, although an extraordinarily valuable gift, was not one to bring the average undergraduate to the college reading-room. A reading-room, in fact, did not exist at all, until a small endowment for periodicals, made by Mr. Elliott F. Shepard in 1889, made it necessary to provide one. The students were expected to frequent the Astor Library; but the instruction was largely by text-book and recitation, and the facilities of the Astor Library were probably not strained by the demands of eager students.

The faculty had changed but little from the period, about 1885, when we last considered it. In 1891 occurred the death of Professor Ebenezer Johnson, after a service with the University of fifty-three years. Upon his death, Professor Baird became dean of the faculty by length of service; and in 1892, upon his retirement from the office of librarian, he was given the title of Dean by the Council, becoming the first holder of that position in the College. To succeed Professor Johnson in the chair of Latin, the Chancellor, probably upon the earlier recommendation of Dr. Crosby, appointed Ernest G. Sihler, a native of Fort Wayne, Indiana, who had studied Classical Philology and History at Berlin and Leipzig, and had been, in 1878, the first to receive the Ph.D. degree in Classics from the newly founded Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Sihler was among the earlier American classicists to bring to this country the tradition of German classical scholarship; and his long career of devotion to research and publication, described in detail in his recently published autobiography,¹ has more than justi-

¹ *From Maumee to Thames and Tiber*, New York, 1930.

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fied the choice made by the Council in 1892. To Dr. Sihler's personal exertions was due in 1902 the purchase for the University Library of the noteworthy classical library of the late Professor Emil Hübner of Berlin.²

Upon the death of Professor Carroll, in 1889, the department of Modern Languages was divided. In charge of the department of French there was placed William Kendall Gillett (an alumnus of the University College in the class of 1880), a son of Dr. Ezra H. Gillett, whom we have known as the first professor of Political Science. Mr. Gillett had also qualified himself for his work by long study in Europe. He was at once accepted by both his colleagues and his students as a man and scholar of more than ordinary attraction, and remained until his early death, in 1914, perhaps the best-liked member of the faculty. For six years the chair of German was filled by Abram S. Isaacs, an alumnus of the class of 1871, who had studied for three years at the University of Breslau, and was afterwards for many years in charge of the department of Semitics in the Graduate School.

Otherwise there was little change in the faculty until the year 1894. Professor Stevenson still continued to teach Geology, Professor Stoddard, English, and Professor Hering, Physics. In the department of Philosophy, of which the Chancellor himself was head, much of the work was done by Dr. Addison Ballard, A.B. Williams, 1842. The department of Chemistry was shared by Professors Robert W. Hall and Morris Loeb. In that very year, 1893, Mr. Charles H. Snow, an alumnus of the class of 1886, was asked to take charge, under Professor Brush's supervision, of the work in Engineering; but it is better that an account of the department of Engineering be postponed to another chapter.

Not until the spring of 1894 was it definitely known that

² *Ibid.*, p. 62.

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the College would be removed to University Heights for the work of the coming year. The feverish energy with which the work of necessary construction upon the new campus was pushed, has already been described; nor should we repeat in this chapter the account given elsewhere of the building of the Havemeyer Chemical Laboratory, the Hall of Languages, Gould Hall, and the Library. Within six years of the migration to the Heights, the University College had permanent buildings which—the Engineering School apart—sufficed with fair adequacy for the college as it existed in that year.

The Chancellor had expected a considerable temporary diminution in the size of the already small college to follow the transfer to the Heights. To the general surprise of all concerned, the diminution did not follow, and the total number of students at University Heights remained stable at about 170, until 1898, when a slow growth began, which brought the enrollment to 280 in 1903. The growth, however, was wholly in the School of Engineering, the organization of which was at last completely separated from that of the College in 1898; and the University College itself shrank rather than increased in enrollment, having only 125 students in 1906-7. Then a slow growth of the College began—ascribed by the Chancellor to the industrial crisis of 1907—and during the year 1911-12, the last year of the University College's first phase in its new home, there were 205 students enrolled.

While the new location for the College was still a matter of some uncertainty, the faculty had made plans for a radical change in the curriculum, to be consummated when and if the transfer to the Heights should occur. Dissatisfaction with the traditional curriculum of American colleges was, of course, a common state of mind in college faculties in the last decade of the nineteenth century. On the one hand was the strong current of German university influence, demand-

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ing that the American student should be allowed to select the subject which, supposedly from motives guided by wisdom, he preferred above others, and to pursue that subject to some degree of specialization, to the possible neglect of other proper subjects for study; on the other hand was the insistent but recent demand of the Natural and Social Sciences for a place in the academic sun hitherto largely occupied by the Classics, Mathematics, and Philosophy. In America these two forces from Germany were of course combined and strengthened by the native tendency to seek utility rather than culture in education. The first two forces, at any rate, had triumphed under President Eliot at Harvard, until by 1893 very little was left at Harvard of the traditional curriculum, and the undergraduates were permitted to elect practically all their courses at their own discretion. Other colleges had clung rather rigidly to the old fixed curriculum. At some colleges, as in the undergraduate department at Johns Hopkins, an attempt had been made to adopt the principle that each undergraduate should be introduced to each of the main branches of human knowledge, but be required to a certain extent to specialize in one.

Since 1871, as we know, the University College had given the degree of B.S. to students who presented neither Greek nor Latin for entrance, nor pursued them in college. This plan had been at the time a rather radical innovation, and was, presumably, very much in the current of Albert Gallatin's influence. But the curriculum of even the "scientific" course was rigidly fixed; and the spirit of the age was too strong for the College faculty to resist. During the summer of 1893, therefore, Chancellor MacCracken entertained some members of the faculty at his home in the Catskills. While together, they prepared a new curriculum for the College. Professor J. D. Prince, who had received his doctor's degree at Johns Hopkins in 1892, was present at

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these meetings; and it is not difficult to believe that his acquaintance with the Johns Hopkins curriculum was a strong factor in the new plan.

For the freshman year, a fixed curriculum was maintained, of two languages, Mathematics, History, Geology, and Biology; also, in strange contrast to the fashionable practices of to-day, of *one* hour only of "rhetorical exercises." For the other three years of his course, the student might elect among ten elective groups, in which, except for about half of the work of the senior year, the curriculum was rigidly fixed. The "elective system" at the University College, therefore, was to be exercised not among individual courses, but among these ten groups, each of which represented one major interest. Thus, Group I was Classical; Group III, Semitic; Group VII, Chemical-Biological. The future Engineering School, be it said, formed Group X, in which only five hours of instruction per year were given to applied science! The new curriculum, as thus adopted in 1894, lasted, with few modifications, for twenty years.

Perhaps the most interesting provision of the new curriculum has been purposely omitted, in order to devote special attention thereto. It was provided that, after 1897, students who had completed without condition the first three years of college work might for their senior year elect three hours of work in the College, and in place of other work in the College, the first year's work of the University Medical College, the Law School, or the School of Pedagogy, or of the Union Theological Seminary. This was the first concession made by the University College to the increasing demands for the abbreviation of the time required for professional preparation; and it was destined not to be the last concession.

To the undergraduates of the University College the most pleasing novelty involved in the change of location was, we may venture to say, not the new curriculum, but

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rather the new opportunities for "non-curricular activities." We have already spoken of the creation of a gymnasium from the Mali barn and stables, and of the dedication of part of the new campus as "Ohio Field." Until 1899 Ohio Field lay, not in its present location, but extended on an east-west axis over the present tennis-courts to the lawn in front of the Hall of Philosophy. Its transfer to its more recent position came as a result of an extensive regrading of the campus made during the construction of the Library. Mr. Frank Cann was engaged by the University in 1894 to supervise both the conduct of the gymnasium, regular exercise in which was now made compulsory for freshmen and sophomores, and also the organization of inter-collegiate athletic teams, which for the first time the students of the University College were permitted to enjoy. Under the particular patronage of Messrs. David Banks and John P. Munn of the Council, Mr. Cann was enabled to develop an enthusiastic athletic life; and he remained in sole charge of university athletics until the introduction of the Reserve Officers Training Corps after the World War interfered with the requirement of gymnastic training.

It had previously been the hope of Dr. MacCracken to change the character of the University College from that of a day school in the city to that of a residential college in the country. For some years, indeed, this anticipation gave evidence of accomplishment. The gradual appearance of dormitories—Butler Hall until 1898, Gould Hall after 1896; a half dozen fraternity houses, and, after 1908, South Hall (the former Schwab mansion)—the development of intercollegiate athletics, and the substitution in 1897 of regents' examination grades for entrance examinations, all tended to bring to the University College students from outside of New York City. The percentage of such students increased, for example, from 31 percent in 1894 to 45 percent in 1897; and the college authorities

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expressed satisfaction in the change. Some of the professors complained that the preparation of students from up-state was inferior to that of those from the city; but the hope of creating a residential college outweighed such disadvantages.

During those distant years from 1894 to about 1912, while these hopes of "creating a college community at University Heights" were still promising, while the Bronx was still a semi-rustic suburb, while "medical preparatory students" were still unknown, and while the Heights Campus still enjoyed an atmosphere of academic calm, the faculty of the University College changed its personnel but slowly. From time to time a department required an additional instructor; but the growth of the College was so slow that in general a new teacher came only when an old one disappeared, and many of the departments remained in possession of but one professor only. No attempt can in general be made here to follow such changes except where heads of departments were concerned.

At the time of the arrival of the College at University Heights, three departments were unoccupied, those of History, of Biology, and of Mathematics. In one year, then, three important additions to the faculty were made, two of which were destined to be of long duration. To the chair of Biology was appointed Charles L. Bristol, an alumnus of the University College in the class of 1883, who had recently received a doctor's degree in Zoölogy from the University of Chicago, and who until his retirement in 1924 remained in charge of the department. From the University of Michigan were called two young men, Marshall S. Brown, Brown, 1892, to occupy the chair of History and Political Science, and Pomeroy J. Ladue, Michigan, 1890, to become professor of Mathematics. Professor Brown now came to the Heights to assume charge of a one-man department which, thirty-seven years later, is still under his

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charge, but now includes more than a score of instructors. A year's study at Heidelberg during 1895-6 added to his fitness for the position. Mr. Ladue remained at the Heights for eleven years, until obliged by ill health to retire in 1905.

In 1895 Professor A. S. Isaacs withdrew from the work of teaching German in the University College, and restricted his connection with the University to the department of Semitics in the Graduate School. To fill the chair of German there was invited another young man from the University of Michigan, Lawrence A. McLouth, Michigan, 1887, who by long study in Germany had admirably fitted himself for the position. Until his death in 1927, Professor McLouth remained in charge of his department. The memory of his genial presence is still a very living one at University Heights. He will live longest, however, in the University Library; for in 1896 he secured for that Library the largest single gift it has ever received, a splendid library of Germanic philology and literature, given in memory of Oswald Ottendorfer, for many years owner of the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*.

The year 1896 brought to the College Dr. Thomas W. Edmondson. A native of Skipton in Yorkshire, he was an alumnus of Cambridge University who, in the year of his arrival at the Heights, had received a doctorate in Physics from Clark University. Invited to the University College to work with Professor Hering in the department of Physics, he also assisted Professor Ladue; and, upon the latter's resignation in 1906, Dr. Edmondson was made head of the department of Mathematics. His long service for the University was to be marked also in many administrative lines: he has been secretary of the faculty since 1903; he was the chairman of the Collegiate Division for several years; and later, from 1916 to 1921, he served as acting dean of the Graduate School.

In 1896 the department of English offered for the first

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time an elective course for freshmen in Composition, the embryo of the course later required for all first-year men. To conduct this course, and to develop the work in Rhetoric, Professor Stoddard had the assistance of two transient instructors; but in 1898 the arrival for this function of Archibald L. Bouton, A.B. Amherst, 1896, brought to the College not merely the future head of the English department, but the dean of the College during practically its entire second phase at the Heights.

The next year, 1899, the department of Philosophy, still technically in the direct charge of the Chancellor, for the first time since the death of Professor Martin, received a full-time instructor in the person of Charles Gray Shaw, Cornell, 1894, who for more than twenty-five years was to remain in charge of the department.

In 1902, after forty-four years of service, Dean Henry M. Baird retired from the professorship of Greek. He honored the College by consenting to retain the deanship, in a more or less honorary capacity, until his death, in 1906; the chair of Greek was filled by the appointment of William E. Waters, Yale, A.B. 1878, Ph.D. 1887. The resignation of Professor Prince, in the same year, was followed by the suspension, temporarily at least, of instruction in Semitics in the University College.

The other important changes in the faculty before 1912 were in the scientific departments. The resignation of Professor Robert Hall, in 1904, and of Dr. Morris Loeb, in 1906, from the department of Chemistry, left that department with two vacancies. To the former was appointed in 1904, Arthur E. Hill, an alumnus of the University College in the class of 1901, who had recently received his doctorate from Freiburg; to the latter in 1904 came as head of the department Arthur B. Lamb, Ph.D., Harvard 1904, a pupil of Professor T. W. Richards. And, finally, strikingly significant of the close of an era in the College, came

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the resignation in 1908 of Professor Stevenson, and the appointment to the chair of Geology of J. E. Woodman, Sc.D., Harvard 1902. With Dr. Stevenson's retirement in 1909, followed a year later by the resignation of the Chancellor, the only members left of the College faculty who had seen service in the old building at Washington Square were Professors Hering, Stoddard, Gillett, and Sihler.

Upon the death of Professor Baird in 1906, Dr. Stevenson became senior professor in years of service; but, either because he was unwilling to assume administrative duties or because the Chancellor was reluctant to assign the supervision of the College to a scientist, Dr. MacCracken, who was next senior in service, assumed the duties of acting dean himself, and continued the charge until his own retirement from the Chancellorship in September, 1910. The Council then appointed to the deanship Dr. Francis Hovey Stoddard, who had been professor of English, as we know, since 1888. Dean Stoddard served as dean of the University College for four years only, retiring in September, 1914; but his brief tenure of office marks in many ways a landmark in the history of that College, forming a period of transition, a medieval period, as it were, between the already ancient college of 1895 and the college of to-day.

In his address made to the students of the two schools at University Heights on the first day of College, in September, 1910, the new dean said that "in the quiet spaces of this retired hill-top, this College has all the seclusion of country life." These words were uttered only twenty-two years ago. But are they not already medieval? The development of the "retired hill-top" of 1910 into the University Heights of to-day is not the least significant feature of the changes which those twenty-two years have made in the College. The rapid urbanization of the western Bronx which those years witnessed could hardly have been anticipated by Chancellor MacCracken at the time of the move-

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ment northward. Who could have dreamed, on that day in 1891 when Dr. MacCracken drove along the McCombs Dam Road into the country and discovered the Mali estate, of what would be the environment of that estate in 1931?

To be sure, this astonishing change in environment might conceivably not have radically affected the character of the College itself. The new campus, particularly after the addition of the Schwab property in 1908, was fortunately large enough so that, if the University had desired, the college might possibly have walled itself in, so to speak, and shut out the city. Indeed, to some extent, the history of the University College since 1912 has been the story of the struggle between two forces: the wish to retain at least some part of the "retired hill-top," on the one hand; and, on the other, the overwhelming forces of the new city and the new nation surrounding it.

The first two years of Dean Stoddard's administration were not marked by any conspicuous change. The enrollment of the College increased slowly; and for the first time in the history of the College practically all the departments were provided with at least one instructor beside the professor in charge. In fact, the English department had actually expanded to include six instructors! It is pleasant to add that this continuing increase in enrollment was accompanied by a distinct improvement in standards for admission; graduation from a high school no longer sufficed, and the somewhat severer test of the "fifteen units" of preparatory work, made fashionable by the Carnegie Foundation, was strictly enforced. For the first time, also, the College was dignified and improved by the employment of a professional recorder, Miss Jeanne M. Elliott, instead of the former practice of assigning the work of keeping the records to the instructor who had least to do, or, at any rate, offered the least evidence of professorial absence of mind. At the close of the year 1912, moreover, very

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fortunately in view of what the coming years had in store, was announced the munificent gift by Mrs. John Stewart Kennedy of a Hall of Philosophy in memory of her father, Cornelius Baker, member of the Council from 1832 to 1838. The new lecture hall was ready for use in September, 1913, and happily completed the group of buildings of which the Gould Memorial Library was the centre.

After many years' anxious deliberation about the necessity and means of raising the standards of medical education, the University and Bellevue Hospital Medical College had at last in 1911 embarked upon the wise but costly venture of requiring for entrance to that School, to begin with September, 1912, one year of college work in Physics, Chemistry, and Biology, based upon previous graduation from a high school. Manifestly it was proper, if not necessary, that New York University should, in some one of its schools, offer this one year of "Medical Preparatory" work to prospective medical students. In what school should that work be given, however? In the Washington Square Collegiate Division? There seemed every reason for such a location; but, unfortunately, there were no laboratories, for any one of the three required sciences in the Washington Square building. In the University College? In any case, the instruction must be given by the faculty of that College, for there were no other instructors in the sciences in the University (except, of course, in the Medical School itself); but, unhappily, the College had just come to boast that it did not admit mere graduates of high schools, but insisted on the "fifteen units," which many, if not most, of the embryo physicians had not earned! Finally, for the year 1911-12 the interesting expedient was tried of having the medical preparatory students *at*, but not *in*, the University College. Twelve prospective Medical students were admitted to the Collegiate Division, but received instruction at University Heights in the three sciences, and

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also in German, in order to give a touch of "culture" to their professional preparation.

Only twelve students of this new type appeared for 1911-12. But forty-eight appeared in September, 1912; and it suddenly became apparent to the University College faculty that an unexpected opportunity for expansion was at hand. Was the opportunity a desirable one? I imagine that for various reasons most of the faculty at that moment found it so. To the dean of the College, in any case, the temptation—if it was a temptation—was too strong to resist. That dean had the disagreeable duty annually to be shown, in the treasurer's balance-sheet for the year, a substantial and, in fact, increasing deficit charged against the operation of his College. Medical preparatory students seemed to offer, as it were, a golden opportunity to reduce that deficit and, at the same time, to secure for the College the reputation, not always enjoyed in the past by that organization, of giving the community what it wanted.

For some years the New York City high schools had been in the habit of graduating a considerable number of students in February. In February, 1913, many of these recent graduates would be eager to enter the Medical College in the following September if only it were made possible for them. Why should not the University offer a Medical Preparatory course, to begin in February, continue through the summer, and prepare them for the Medical School in the autumn? Such an opportunity was advertised, indeed, by the Collegiate Division, the instruction, of course, to be given in the Heights laboratories; and thirty-seven more students appeared. At the request of the dean and faculty of the University College, in April, 1913, these eighty-five Medical Preparatory students—forty-eight from the September enrollment, and thirty-seven from the February class—were transferred from the Collegiate Division to the University College. A new group of the freshman class—

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Section C—was created, entrance into which was based upon graduation from a high school only, with or without the fifteen units, and which was frankly admitted to be a one-year course only. Simultaneously it was agreed that from February, 1914, the February–September freshman course, which during the previous year had been provided for Medical Preparatory (and Engineering) students only, should be offered for the regular college course also. As a result, the enrollment of the College increased from 200 in 1911–12, to 369 in 1913–14, and to 559 in 1916–17. Dean Stoddard, in his annual report for 1913, with some reservations already observable, expressed in general considerable satisfaction at what had occurred. Is there another sort of satisfaction to be sensed in the report of the chairman of the Collegiate Division, Professor Edmondson, submitted at the same time, when he says that the “bringing of the Medical Preparatory students more immediately under the jurisdiction of the Dean of the College has proved an unqualified success”? Can Dr. Edmondson possibly have meant an unqualified success for the Collegiate Division?

We can agree with Dean Stoddard that there were many advantages which this enormous increment in students secured at once for the University College. One immediate result of the increase, combined with a slight rise in tuition made in 1913, was a reduction of the College deficit for the last year of Dean Stoddard’s administration to a very low figure. Another result was that, for the first time in many years, moderate augmentations of salary could be made to the underpaid faculty, at least in the departments of science. It was undoubtedly desirable that the College should be thus brought into close contact with the Medical School. From most points of view, it was desirable that the material equipment of the College, in the way of lecture rooms, laboratories, and the library should be more widely utilized

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than in the past; for it is difficult to ask for more equipment until one efficiently utilizes what one has.

But, in the meantime, what was happening to the "retired hill-top" and the "residential college in the country"? University Heights (for the first time in its history) was thronged with students; and a college should presumably be glad to know that it is serving the community. Its laboratories and lecture halls were, for the first time, crowded; presumably they had been built for the purpose of providing higher education for as many as they could hold. The residential college and the academic calm, however, which had been the dream of the College of 1894 were rapidly disappearing. Dean Bouton, in his first annual report submitted in 1915, was shocked to discover that only 19 percent of the students lived at University Heights, instead of 45 percent as in 1897. Still more shocking, however, to the conservative mind was the ever-growing disparity between the size of the group of one-year Medical Preparatory freshmen, and the upper classmen who stayed in College for their degrees; in 1913-14 there were 257 freshmen to only 121 upper classmen, and the proportion did not decrease during the next two years. Compared with the relatively enormous freshman courses, the courses for upper classmen seemed pathetically small; there was every reason to anticipate the rapid transformation of the College into a mere one- or two-year preparatory school for the professional schools.

There was, unfortunately, another aspect of the situation which was the most uncomfortable of all. Until the arrival of the Medical Preparatory freshmen there had been among the students of the University College less conflict between the older and the newer strata of New York society than might have been expected in a college situated in New York City. Now, however, with the arrival of the pre-medical students, came a sudden and overwhelming influx of young

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men who seemed, rightly or wrongly, to the students of older American stock, to be distinctly alien to their own manners and habits of thought. The social conflict that ensued may easily be exaggerated; but the University College of 1917 was a very different place from that of 1910; and the transition from the old to the new occurred mainly in the last two years of Professor Stoddard's deanship.

His deanship was marked by another rather radical change that deserves a brief mention. The college faculty had for some years felt that the "group system" in the curriculum of 1894 was somewhat too cumbersome, and left, perhaps, too little initiative to the individual student. At Dean Stoddard's suggestion, therefore, during the year 1913-14 the committee on the curriculum, of which Professor M. S. Brown was chairman, devoted much time and thought to a revision of the course of study. The new plan went into effect in the autumn of 1914, and was in many respects rather different from the older scheme. The "groups" were abandoned, and, with the exception of the newly admitted Pre-Medical section, all the regular students in the College were placed upon practically the same basis. To be sure, the old distinction between the candidates for the A.B. degree, who must continue the study of Latin for one year in college (compulsory Greek had disappeared in 1902), and the candidates for the B.S. degree, who might be ignorant of Latin, was, and still is, in 1932, retained. Otherwise, all students were required to pursue 126 points of college work, of which somewhat less than one-half was required, and the rest was elective; but every student must complete one major, and two minor sequences. Probably the most interesting element in the new curriculum was the attempt to create a special course, leading to final honors in their major subjects, which the best upper-classmen might elect. Since the establishment of this "honors course," about forty students have received their degrees with hon-

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ors; and, in many cases, have shown, in their final oral examinations, a thoroughness and brilliancy of scholarship that the more cynical among their examiners have sometimes compared with the results of examinations in the Graduate School, not unfavorably to the seniors concerned. In few ways does it seem that the University College can more justify itself than by preparing a few brilliant men each year for final honors; but an extension of the scheme beyond a few candidates each year would necessitate the employment of tutors whom the College has not been in a position to provide.

A third event of Dean Stoddard's régime, although directly concerned with another college of the University, had a distinct, although in a way negative, influence upon the position of the University College within New York University. The story has been told in another chapter of the establishment in 1903 at Washington Square of the Collegiate Division. During the ten years that followed, the instruction given in that Division had been largely by members of the Heights faculty, with some assistance from the Schools of Pedagogy and of Commerce. The students of the Collegiate Division were almost entirely men and women of mature age, chiefly teachers, who studied to secure the degree of Bachelor of Science in Pedagogy, and were for the most part graduates of normal schools. There had been for a few years before 1913 an increasing influx to the Division of graduates of other types of professional schools, young lawyers and even physicians, who for various reasons wished the baccalaureate degree, and a small number also of more youthful graduates of high schools, many of whom, being girls, were not admitted to the University College, and all of whom apparently preferred to study at Washington Square. The idea occurred to some members of the administration that it was desirable, therefore, to turn the Collegiate Division into a fully organized college; and,

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although the Division had no material resources—its rooms were borrowed, so to speak, from the Schools of Pedagogy and Law, and it had not a penny of endowment—the Council gave its consent in December, 1913, to its promotion to the status of the Washington Square College. At the time of the change, the faculty of the new college was still predominantly drawn from that of the University College; and the assumption of the administration was, apparently, that its clientele would be drawn from another type of student than that of the University College. The situation was an uncommon one, however, to have, in America, two independent colleges of arts and science within the same University. There are advantages and disadvantages in competition. The extraordinarily rapid increase in the enrollment of the Washington Square College during the fifteen years that followed its organization, the gradual appearance of a faculty almost entirely differing in personnel from that of the University College, and its general tendency to become a college of the same type as the University College, except in its co-educational character, are all events that have had a strong effect upon the University College itself. In general the results of that competition, which it would be wrong to call rivalry, have probably been beneficent for both schools. It is interesting to note that Dean Stoddard did not view with sympathy the establishment of the new college. In his last report, presented in November, 1914, he emphatically recommended that the Washington Square College be consolidated with the University College, under one dean; that a minimum age of twenty or twenty-two be maintained for admission to the Washington Square Division; and that students just from high schools be required to matriculate at University Heights. He therefore contemplated the establishment of a woman's division at the Heights. Had Dean Stoddard's advice been taken, the University of to-day would surely be a very different thing

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from what it is. But Dean Stoddard could not in 1914 realize how speedily one of his prophecies with regard to the future of the Washington Square College would be falsified, when he wrote that "the instruction in the Washington Square College is now given quite largely by the members of the faculty at the Heights, and *will so continue to be given.*"

Dean Stoddard retired from active service in the summer of 1914. His retirement coincided exactly with the unexpected and lamented death of Professor Gillett. The University College faculty could not but feel itself almost completely severed from its former moorings with the disappearance of these two veterans; of the faculty which had once taught at "Chrysalis College," only Dr. Hering and Dr. Sihler were left, and the latter's service at Washington Square had been very brief.

The deanship of the University College was now conferred upon Archibald L. Bouton, professor of English, whose first connection with the University dated from his appointment as instructor in 1898. For the first time, therefore, the deanship was held not by a professor in his later middle age, but by a younger man who had earned his selection by a general recognition of his scholarship, loyalty, and intellectual honesty. Now that, in 1932, the young dean of 1914 has become the senior dean of the University, the College faculty has seen no reason to alter its enthusiastic approval of the choice made eighteen years ago.

Dean Bouton inherited, as we know, a difficult task, but one with distinct attractions to an energetic man. The financial position of the College was, at least temporarily, sounder than it had been for many years; the College for the first time in its existence had too many, rather than too few students; and the faculty also was increasing in size. On the other hand, as we have seen, there was a growing incoherence created by the inrush of medical preparatory

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students and a congestion of space, which in the department of Chemistry particularly, threatened a breakdown in the College unless some relief were rapidly provided.

A certain relief from the growing predominance of one-year students was felt during 1914-15 from the fact that twenty pre-medical students of 1913-14 chose to remain for a second year. Perhaps they appreciated the opportunity presented by the College for further study; perhaps they were affected by a new law of the State of New Jersey, which required two years of pre-professional college study; or perhaps they unconsciously realized the rapid tendency of the better medical schools toward increasing their entrance requirements. For whatever reason they decided to remain, their decision was gratifying to an anxious dean and faculty. Then came the resolution of the University and Bellevue Hospital Medical College to require two years of college work for entrance after 1917, and the gratified haste of the University College to declare that for all pre-medical students admitted after February, 1917, a two-year course would be required. At least there would be no more one-year-only students in the College. At the same time it was ordered that applicants for the two-year pre-medical course must present the same "fifteen units" for admission as the regular four-year students. Very unfortunately, as it appeared to many of the College faculty at the time, it seemed meet to a majority of the faculty, who were frightened by the apparent disintegration of the old four-year course, to safeguard the existence of both the College and the Medical School by offering to medical students who completed two years in college, one term in the Summer School, and four years in the Medical School, both the B.S. degree from the College and the M.D. degree from the Medical School. This step marked, historically, the low-water mark in the value of the University College degrees.

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Another ultimate source of relief which Dean Bouton's administration expected from the predominance of one-year students was in the establishment in 1915 of a four-year course in the College leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science in Commerce. The course leading to this degree was supposed to combine "the ideal virtues of cultural discipline, with practical training in industrial and commercial subjects." There was, it was declared, no effort to make this commercial training vocational; and there was to be "no competition with the . . . frankly utilitarian work of the School of Commerce." The course was organized under the direction of Professor E. J. Clapp, head of the department of Economics; and for some time much interest was aroused among the students. But, either because it was too ideal or too practical, or, possibly, for reasons connected with the World War, the original four-year College Commerce Course did not succeed in attracting any large number of students; and, a few years after the War, it was fundamentally re-organized.

By November, 1916, Dean Bouton seems to have been convinced that some radical remedy was needed to cure the growing ills of the College. A congestion of students that, in the case of the department of Chemistry, at any rate, made a crisis inevitable by September, 1917, unless new laboratories were provided; an increase of social dissension among the different types of students present; and, perhaps above all, constant reports from the committee on scholarship of an increasing necessity of dropping from college students with poor academic records: from these and other causes Dean Bouton was led to declare that the faculty was convinced of the necessity "of some kind of supplementary examination for entrance," beyond certification from approved high schools, "to be applied in some or all cases, in order that men obviously unadapted to college work may be sifted out before undertaking it." And when, he asked,

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was there a better time to introduce such a supplementary test than during the existing period of congestion?

It was on the lap of the gods, however, that the crisis in the history of the University College should be postponed by the approach of the World War. The academic year 1917-18 opened in confusion, and by the end of the year over 300 students and many instructors had withdrawn from the College. During the summer of 1918 it became clear that it would be quite impossible to keep the College or the Engineering School open for civilian students during the coming year; to find a decent compensation for the faculty, also, would become a difficult undertaking.

There was some relief from care, then, mingled with the patriotic satisfaction which at this moment welcomed the request from the national government to establish at University Heights a branch of the Students Army Training Corps. This organization was an experiment by the government in keeping young men at their college studies at the same time that they were receiving training to fit them for commissions in various branches of the military service. The young men selected for the course were to be, it was expected, simultaneously under the academic control of the faculty, and the military control of the commandant of the corps. The few months that elapsed between the opening of the corps in September, and its dissolution after the armistice in November, 1918, will long remain in the memory of those members of the faculty who were present, partly as a nightmare, partly as an interval of kaleidoscopic comedy, sobered at the time by a sense that a patriotic duty was being done. The more optimistic of the faculty declared that, at the time of the Armistice, a *modus vivendi* was being reached between the military and the civilian officers of the corps, and that the experiment would ultimately have been a success. The less sanguine can only remember the periodic quizzes announced in the classes, on the occasion

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of which the larger part of the class would be absent on kitchen police! To those members of the faculty returning to the University after the war, the only lasting memorials of the S.A.T.C. appeared to be the inclusion in the curriculum of a Reserve Officers' Training Corps, membership in which was required for freshmen and sophomores, the construction of a basement for an extension of the Havemeyer Laboratory, and the erection upon the main lawn of the campus of a "Y.M.C.A. hut" which was to remain as an eyesore for a dozen years after the war.

The S.A.T.C. disappeared with pleasing rapidity after the Armistice; and on January 1, 1919, the University College and the College of Engineering reopened for civilian instruction only, to find the problems which concerned them in 1917 still present in 1919.

The chief problem, accentuated by the social and economic changes produced by the World War, continued to be the personnel of the students. More than ever, in 1919, the newer social strata in New York City were pressing for admission to the professional schools, and to the colleges which prepared for them. The University College would, in the post-war period, have no difficulty in securing students to almost any number it desired. The difficulty seemed to lie in the quality of the students; and the faculty in the spring and summer of 1919 devoted many an anxious hour to thoughts for the future of the College, into which, we may hope, went their reason as well as their emotion.

The post-war faculty was, of course, somewhat different in membership from that of 1910, when we last described it. It had doubled in size; for there were about thirty members, of the rank of instructor or above, in 1910, and there were more than sixty in 1920. We may here, however, speak only of a few changes among the heads of departments. In 1913, upon the resignation of Dr. Arthur B. Lamb, who returned to Harvard, Professor Arthur E. Hill

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became director of the chemical laboratory and, a year later, head of the department. After the death of Professor Gillett, in the autumn of 1914, Dr. Earle B. Babcock was called from the University of Chicago to be head of the department of Romance Languages. When, after thirty-two years of service, Professor Hering was made emeritus professor of Physics, his place was taken by Dr. John C. Hubbard, who had taught in the College, ten years previously, before going to Clark University, whence he returned to the Heights. Of the multitude of younger men who formed the faculty of 1920 it is impossible to speak. It should be added, however, that in general the policy of the new dean in selecting his faculty was to appoint instructors qualified for graduate teaching and interested in research. A strengthening of the contact between the Graduate School and the University College, resulting, it may be hoped, in an enrichment of undergraduate instruction, has been, indeed, the most laudable attempt of Dean Bouton's administration.

Upon these men fell the responsibility of facing the questions which seemed in 1919 to threaten the future of the University College which they and their predecessors had known. The word "Americanism" was often, perhaps too often, upon the lips of the majority of our compatriots in 1919; and the majority of the faculty agreed, wisely or unwisely, with the majority of Americans, that "Americanism" was a quality that the student body of the University College had once possessed, was in danger of losing, and must recover. In 1932 we are perhaps less sure of what "Americanism" is; but we can probably admit that the University College was being swamped in 1919 by an invasion of students of what, to the older American student and teacher, seemed wholly alien habits and manners. What should the College have tried to do? A conceivable answer is that it should have accepted the perhaps inevitable con-

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sequence of its location in New York City, and undertaken the duty of teaching "Americanism" to these "alien" young men. The sad facts of the case, however, appeared to be that for every "alien" student who entered, an "American" student disappeared, and that the College would soon be wholly "alien." If that occurred, how could "Americanism" be taught with no "American" students to serve as examples to the "aliens"? On the other hand, did not the University College have a duty to serve the community, and, if it were necessary to limit the enrollment, what fairer tests for entrance could be employed than those of a purely intellectual character? Such were the questions which agitated, not only the faculty of the University College, but those of many similar colleges after 1919.

It will be remembered that already in 1916 Dean Bouton had reported the advisability of providing tests for entrance supplementary to high-school certificates. Such tests were now ordered for all freshmen entering the two schools at University Heights in September, 1919; and these two schools have the merit, or demerit, as only the future may decide, of being among the first of American colleges to provide a "personnel and psychological examination" for entrance. To Mr. Perley L. Thorne, at that time assistant professor of Mathematics, was given the responsibility of conducting the examinations; and, under his direction they have been given without interruption since 1919. A delicate and, to a man of sensitive conscience, often a very unpleasant duty has been performed in such a way that, at any rate, scarcely any protests have been received from applicants not admitted, and that with passing years the entrance committee perhaps not unjustifiably trusts that few worthy students are excluded from the College. It is possible that, with the recent tendencies which restrict immigration to a minimum, all apparent necessity for any but exclusively intellectual tests will gradually disappear.

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A momentary fear existed that the result of the new entrance examinations would be unduly to restrict the number of students, and thus to prevent the efficient use of the rooms and laboratories available. In general the contrary has occurred. As is often the case, the more difficult admission to the College was made, the more applicants presented themselves; and between 1919 and 1930 the enrollment of the College again increased at a relatively rapid rate, rising from about 450 in 1919 to 1013 in 1930. In 1920 a large increase in the fee for tuition permitted an increase in the salaries of the faculty, made altogether necessary by the depreciation in the value of money which followed the War, and yet seemed not in the least to have discouraged the astonishing demand of the youth of the city for university education. A magnificent bequest of over half a million dollars left to the University by Miss Kate Collins Brown in 1917 as a scholarship fund in memory of her uncle, Perry McDonough Collins, happily gave the two schools at University Heights the opportunity to relieve to a considerable extent the more deserving students from the anxieties caused by the increase in tuition.

In 1921, however, the College was still suffering from the large preponderance of freshmen and sophomores over upper-class students, and the consequent decline in the number and size of the more advanced courses offered. With a view to increasing the upper-class registration, the College Commerce Course was modified in 1922 by making it slightly more professional in its character; it was hoped that the result would be to secure a few more juniors and seniors. To a considerable degree the desired results were obtained. At the same time the College established another highly specialized course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science in Chemistry. The most hopeful event of these years, however, to those who sympathized with the maintenance of the four-year college was the abolition in 1922

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both of the two-year Medical Preparatory Course, and of the combined six and one-half year course leading to the B.S. and M.D. degrees. This action was taken with the approval of the Medical College; and since 1922 it has been the general practice that those students of the University College who are preparing for medicine remain three years at the Heights, and complete their senior work in the first year of the Medical College, according to the rule made in 1894. Many students even remain for their fourth year at the Heights; for admission to the University and Bellevue Hospital Medical College has become increasingly more difficult, and applicants for admission thereto from the University College have had more and more to meet the competition of students from other colleges. In consequence of these developments, the upper classes in the University College began to show a distinct gain in quantity, and perhaps in quality as well, from 1924; at present the fear generally active in 1916 that the College was rapidly destined to become a two-year preparatory school, has been almost wholly forgotten.

The steady increase in student enrollment since the War, regulated in quantity and controlled in quality by the personnel examinations, and made much more healthy than the increase between 1913 and 1917 by the fact that the junior and senior years have obtained a fairly large proportion of the growth, has of course again necessitated an enlargement of the faculty, and from time to time produced a congestion of the educational plant. In the faculty the most conspicuous changes have been brought about by the retirement in 1924 of Professors Sihler and Waters, and in 1925 of Professor Bristol, the death of Professor McLouth in 1927, and the resignation of Professor Hubbard in the same year. The congestion in buildings and laboratories has been partially remedied by the acquisition in 1924 of the former residence of Chancellor MacCracken, which, although pri-

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marily assigned to the use of the Graduate School, has vastly improved the College campus; by the superlatively generous gift in 1926 of a Chemical Building by William H. Nichols, an alumnus of the class of 1870; and by the construction of a permanent gymnasium in 1931. Proper dormitory accommodation is still lacking, however; and, if the University College is to prosper, there is still ample room upon its campus for the other lecture halls and laboratories that remain unbuilt.

CHAPTER XI

THE SCHOOL OF LAW¹

THE name "University" indicated the ambition of the founders, for at that time the word "college" was attached to every higher educational institution in New York and to most of what are now the large universities of the east. That the teaching of Law was in their minds is evident from the plan prepared at their request by Benjamin F. Butler; and it was but a comparatively short time thereafter when Medicine occupied their thoughts and was realized in the Medical College. It was unfortunate that a financial depression followed soon after the founding of the University and sadly handicapped the establishment of both the Law and Medical Schools.

The English system of legal education had resulted in the adoption here of the system of "articled clerk" which has its adherents to this day; and it is not surprising that the efforts of the founders to establish a Law School were futile for some years in that there appeared little demand for instruction in Law. It was not until the city's population had increased and a new generation was on its way that a law school became an essential part of the University's scheme.

The early period was in reality the effort of one man to establish the School in the face of insurmountable barriers. In 1834 the Council of the University, looking to the organization of the Faculty of Law, said: "The great importance of this department, and the solicitude manifested by the members of the bar and others for its early and

¹ In 1904, the author of this chapter wrote a brochure entitled *New York University Law School, Past and Present*, which has been freely drawn upon.

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judicious organization, have induced the Council to give the subject a very anxious and deliberate consideration."

In a pamphlet given to the public at that time, Chancellor James M. Mathews said: "Having learned that the Hon. Benjamin F. Butler, Attorney-General of the United States, had on various occasions, in common with others of his professional brethren, expressed a very decided opinion as to the importance and necessity of establishing a scientific law school in the city; and that he had also bestowed considerable reflection upon the plan and method of instruction proper for such an institution; that gentleman was recently requested, in behalf of the Council, to favor them with a statement of the opinions he had formed on this interesting subject."

In the year 1835, Butler published his "Plan for the Organization of a Law Faculty," and "A system of instruction in Legal Science in the University of the City of New York, prepared at the request of the Council." Butler was at the time Attorney-General in the Cabinet of Andrew Jackson, having in 1833 succeeded the Hon. Robert B. Taney. He was born in Kinderhook, New York, in 1795. His abilities, when he was only a boy, had attracted the attention of his townsman, Martin Van Buren, in whose office he studied law. Accompanying Van Buren to Albany, he was admitted to the bar in 1817. Within sixteen years, at thirty-eight, he took his seat as Attorney-General at Washington.

His plan provided for at least three professors and three years of study. He intimated that ordinarily the grade of attorney and solicitor was reached at twenty-one, entirely through service in the office of a lawyer; the higher grade of counsel was attained three years later. This course of three years was to be grafted, somehow, upon the practice of clerkship. The courts had then, as a general rule, required that the whole term of clerkship should be spent in

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the office of a practicing attorney and under his direction; for study in a law school but one year was usually allowed—i.e., the obligation of clerkship was in that case reduced by a single year. Most law schools had been private, conducted by a single lawyer, often in small country towns. The Attorney-General intimated that, confronted by the alternative of abandoning either law school or office work, the aspirant for the profession would undoubtedly cling to the latter.

Butler proposed for the initial or primary department: Practice and Pleading, Organization and Jurisdiction of Courts, modes of proceeding in Common Law, in Equity, Admiralty, and Criminal cases. For the second or junior department he set down the Law of the Domestic Relations, the Law of Personal Property, including Commercial and Maritime Law, being matter particularly contained in the second and third volumes of Kent's Commentaries, which Butler cited. For the third or senior department he allotted the Law of Real Property, of Corporations, and of Equity. Besides this, all three groups were to be jointly instructed in what Butler called the Parallel or General Course, in which the philosophical and historical aspects of Law were to be brought forward, and which should include the Law of Nature, History of American Jurisprudence, Constitutional Law, Interpretation of Statutes, Roman Law, and the like. The specific way in which Butler elaborated the mode of instruction points strongly to the probability that he looked forward to this academic work with a definite purpose and real pleasure.

As to the method of instruction, the ideas presented by Butler correspond favorably with the ideas which prevailed for many years subsequent, and which seem not yet to have lost favor in the minds of many representatives of bar and bench.

"The most useful kind of law lecture," said Butler, "is

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that which is designed to elucidate a preparatory course of text-reading previously assigned to the student, and to impress upon his mind and memory its leading principles. If treatises or dissertations are to be read, the student had better do it for himself, under such circumstances as to enable him to peruse and digest them at his leisure. The oral lecture is not only far more attractive and inciting, but it furnishes the opportunity of supplying the defects of the textbooks, and of giving much useful information which would never be incorporated in a written lecture." In other words, the deductive method proceeded from general principles, gained through the textbook, to particular principles elucidated by the oral lecture. This was the idea prevailing in all lines of education at the time.

In the year 1838, the new Law Department was in active operation. Butler was Principal of the Faculty and associated with him were William Kent and David Graham, Jr. Butler was professor of General Law and of the Law of Real Property; Kent, of the Law of Persons and of Personal Property; Graham, of the Law of Pleading and Practice. The inaugural addresses of all three have been preserved by publication (New York, 1838).

An able observer of that time assigns several reasons in explanation of the fact that this beginning of 1838 was short-lived. In the first place, the University troubles of the summer of 1838, the convulsion involved in the bitter contest between the Chancellor and the seven professors, reacted on the Law Department as well as on the rest of the institution. Professor Graham resigned soon afterwards, and the number of law students did not exceed fifteen or twenty. Butler was appointed a United States District Attorney by President Van Buren, and Kent became a Circuit Judge. Besides, it was intimated that the adherents of the constitutional interpretation of Marshall and Story would not be friendly to a jurist who was identified with

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current administrative policies of Jackson and Van Buren.

The habit of what may be fairly called the apprenticeship of the future lawyer through clerkship in law offices was too deeply settled in that era for the youths, so much less mature than the law students of the present time, to swerve from the training of their principals and to serve two masters. Even in the English universities, instruction in Law was of very recent origin, and the law schools of Harvard and Yale were in their infancy, enrolling but a few pupils; for example, Harvard had twenty-four in 1829-30. Splendid as had been the services to American jurisprudence of Chancellor Kent, the Law School of Columbia, with which he was then connected, had maintained but a languishing and limited existence.

The records of New York University contain no mention of the students who appeared and disappeared during this period. In one or two of the publications of the time, mention is made that "students were in attendance upon the lectures of the Law School." No register is now in existence showing matriculants of the period. It is, however, known that at least one student was enrolled who was destined to achieve great distinction in later life, Samuel J. Tilden. Statements as to the school were intermittent, some mention being made one year and omitted the next. In the University publications of 1839-40, the announcement of the Faculty of Law appears with this significant statement: "a course of lectures . . . has been delivered during the past session," presumably 1838-39, the faculty having been appointed in 1838. No further announcement appears for a period of fifteen years, or until 1854, during which no lectures seem to have been given. In 1854 the University announced under the title "Faculty of Law" that "arrangements are in progress to revive this department." The arrangements must have fallen through, for nothing appears concerning the School in the publication of 1855.

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In 1856, "The Faculty of Law" again appeared in the records, and its only professor was Butler. This was evidently intended as the publication for the college year 1855-56, for in July, 1856, Butler sent to the Council a letter formally dissolving the association of his name with the professorship of Law to which he had originally been appointed in 1835. In this letter Butler reviewed the effort of 1838 to begin the work of legal instruction in the University, when "the number of students did not exceed thirty, and of these several were unable to make payments of tuition." And then the distinguished jurist went on to say: "My opinions as to the necessity and importance of a school in this city for a systematic and thorough course of instruction in legal science, as set forth in the plan above referred to in my inaugural address, are unchanged; but the state of my health and other circumstances will not permit me, at this time, to indulge the hope that I can take any part in the reorganization of a Law School in the institution under your care. I hereby resign the office of Professor of General Law, of Real Property, and Principal of the Law Faculty, to which I was appointed." No attempt was made to revive or continue the School until 1858.

Just as the names of Morse, Draper, Mott, and Baird are deeply graven upon the tablets of New York University's history in Art, Science, Medicine, and History, so the name of Benjamin F. Butler is indissolubly connected with the Law. He was lawyer, business man, statesman, editor, and reviser, but his love for his profession was his first, last, and, in his own opinion, his best work. He became district attorney of Albany County in 1821, and resigned in 1825 to accept appointment upon a Commission to Revise the Statutes of the State of New York, upon which he served four years, being the only Commissioner to do so. He originated the plan of revision, and the larger part of the completed revision was his.

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He served Presidents Jackson and Van Buren as Attorney-General from 1833 to 1841. In 1836, General Cass resigned as Secretary of War and Butler assumed the duties of that office for the remainder of President Jackson's term, while retaining the office of Attorney-General. In 1845, President Polk named him United States Attorney for New York, a post which he retained until 1848. He never again held office, though he continued to take an active part in the politics and policies of his day, even up to the date of his death, which occurred suddenly in November, 1858. His retirement from his University connections did not abate his interest in the University, the officers and trustees of which he continued to advise. His brother, Dr. Charles Butler, served the University as a member of the Council and as its President for many years, and was one of its most liberal benefactors. His son, William Allen Butler, served as a member of the University Council from 1862 to 1898, and was also a lecturer on the Law of Admiralty in the Law School for many years. The son achieved a high place at the bar of New York, and enriched the literature of his day and generation by many notable contributions.

The *History of the Bench and Bar of New York* (New York History Company, 1897) concludes its biographical sketch of Benjamin F. Butler in these words:

Mr. Butler's character was singularly pure and noble. No name in all the history of the New York Bar is held by posterity in higher honor than his. Notwithstanding the distinction which he attained in the maturity of his career, he always regarded his connection with the revision of the statutes as the distinctive work of his life; and on his tombstone in Woodlawn Cemetery are inscribed the words: "A Commissioner to Revise the Statutes of the State of New York."

William Kent was a son of James Kent, Chancellor of the State of New York, and came in as the professor of Common Law and Domestic Relations. He retired in 1839, having been in active duty but one year. Kent was born in

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1802, and died in Fishkill, New York, January 4, 1861. From 1841 to 1846 he was Judge of the First Circuit, having been appointed by Governor Seward. In 1846 he accepted a professorship in Harvard Law School, but resigned in 1847 and returned to New York. His ability won for him a prominent place in his profession.

David Graham, Jr., who also assisted Butler in the opening of the School, remained but a short time with it. He was appointed a professor of Law in 1837, and resigned in 1838. Graham was born in England in 1808 and died in France in 1852. He was a worthy son of a worthy father; the two practiced at the bar of New York together, and were commonly known as "Graham the elder" and "Graham the younger." He was prominently connected with the early code, drafted under David Dudley Field. In 1832 he compiled *Graham's Practice*, which for two decades was regarded as a standard. He was prominent in political and social life and attained a success in his profession equaled by few of his day.

In reality the Law School dates its foundation from the year 1858. All prior attempts to establish the School upon a firm basis seem to have been ephemeral; but, from the establishment of the faculty of 1858 down to the present time, the School has been a vital force in the development of the community.

In 1858 the Council renewed their active interest in the matter, and on May 27 the plan of a Law School was unanimously adopted. The Council designated the men who were to give instruction in Law in the proposed School, leaving to them the task of determining the kind and the amount of work to be done by the faculty or to be exacted from the students. The University entered into no financial liability and, on the other hand, demanded but a graduation fee of \$10 for every diploma of Bachelor of Laws. The faculty designated were: Hon. Thomas W. Clerke, Judge of the

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Supreme Court; Hon. Levi S. Chatfield, late Attorney-General of the State of New York; Hon. Theodore Sedgwick, United States District Attorney; Peter Y. Cutler; William B. Wedgwood; and George H. Moore.

These men expressed their appreciation of their own selection in flattering terms, but prudently called attention to several important matters, the settlement of which should precede the actual work of beginning lectures. As a first point they mentioned the establishment of a Law library of some considerable extent. This was one of the great attractions of the Law School at Harvard University. Some thousands of volumes were undoubtedly requisite, and such a collection must be reserved for the exclusive use of the students. Secondly, suitable steps should be taken to give proper publicity to the new Law School, and have it widely advertised throughout the land, at least during the first year or two. The two matters mentioned would probably involve an outlay of \$10,000. These points were formulated in a communication to Chancellor Ferris, dated June 5, 1858.

John Taylor Johnston came to the aid of the faculty by laying the foundation of the law library with generous helpfulness. As to the degree of publicity thrown upon the new enterprise, data fail us. One striking feature of the new department demands attention. Chancellor Kent, who early in the century conducted a short-lived law school in connection with Columbia College, had worn the ermine of the highest judicial office of the State of New York. B. F. Butler, who made the second effort toward establishing a law school in New York, had been Attorney-General in Jackson's administration. And now again three of the five proposed Law teachers were men invested with honors of official distinction. Clearly it was considered desirable that in a tentative movement like this, the legal eminence of the teachers should be an element of strength before the public.

In the opening circular, attention was called to the ex-

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tensive opportunities for studying actual litigation: in the Supreme Court, with its five judges, in the Superior Court with six, in the Court of Common Pleas with three, besides the District and Circuit Courts of the Federal Government. The Law School was commended to the future legislator, to men who looked forward to the administration of inherited wealth, to future merchants. The real competition of the Law School was in that day not so much with other schools, but with the idea of accomplishing the entire preparation for admission to the bar through apprenticeship in the offices of lawyers. And thus the first circular of the Law School which marks the beginning of uninterrupted work in legal education in New York University presents the matter in the following language:

They [young men] enter a lawyer's office and commence the study of law. Books are put into their hands to be read. They generally pursue their studies unaided by any oral instruction, or examination, or explanation. They imbibe error and truth: principles which are still in force with principles which have become obsolete; and when admitted to practice they find, often at the cost of their unfortunate clients, that their course of study has not made them sound lawyers or correct practitioners. The liberty and the property of the client are often sacrificed by the ignorance of the lawyer. A more accurate knowledge of the law as a science, and of its practice as a profession, can be imparted to the student in a well-regulated Law School in four months, than is usually acquired in a lawyer's office in years.

The tone and spirit of this note differ greatly from the milder manner of Butler in his design of 1835, when the apprenticeship method was treated with deference, whereas in the circular of 1858 the gauntlet was thrown to the exclusive claims of that system. The course given was of moderate length: from the third Wednesday of October to March 4. The work was allotted thus: Justice Clerke taught General Theory and Practice of American Law, including Municipal Law and Equity Jurisprudence; District Attor-

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ney Theodore Sedgwick lectured on International, Constitutional, and Statutory Law, and Law of Damages; Chatfield presented Criminal Law and Medical Jurisprudence; Cutler served as professor of Civil Law, the Law of Evidence, Pleading and Practice, and the Law of Real Property; Wedgewood had as his departments, Commercial, Maritime, and Parliamentary Law, and Law of Personal Property; and Moore, Legal History and Literature.

It was proposed not only to hold moot courts, but also to organize legislative bodies for "provision is made for the organization of Legislatures and Conventions for the purpose of parliamentary drill and the preparation of the public duties to which young men may be called." Whether the numbers of students in the new department were adequate for effectively inaugurating this form of preparation for political life is not known. The number of "attendants on the Law Course" was fifty-six. The first graduates of the University Law School, March 4, 1859, were eight in number: Marcena M. Dickerson; Gilead B. Nash; Asa S. Lathrop, A.B.; I. Solis Ritterband; Chauncey Field, Jr.; John Stevenson; Nelson Taylor; Joseph E. Jackson, A.B.

The method of instruction remained the same as outlined by Butler; in fact, no attempt at changes in method were made until the reorganization in 1889. To each instructor was assigned one or more topics, and his success depended upon his ability to handle his class. The textbook method was used, supplemented by oral recitation and lecture. This method is as old as education itself; its age entitled it to respect. A distinction was given to it as the instructor was successful in his work, but the distinction died with the retirement of the instructor, and history repeated itself in the advent of new instructors. No method of instruction yet devised can safely be adopted by every instructor. The great desideratum is results, and judgment goes against the instructor who fails in developing the subject in a log-

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ical, historical, and practical manner for the student. The time ought never to come when the instructor is not leader in his classroom. That some other has been or is more successful than he by pursuing a method differing from his is begging the question. Fortunately, this has always been recognized in the University Law School, and to it may be attributed the success of the School.

The retirement of Professors Chatfield and Moore from the faculty in 1859 provides an occasion for a brief sketch of the career of each. Levi S. Chatfield was born in 1808 and died in 1884. He was prominent in New York politics, having been elected to the Assembly in 1838 and chosen speaker in 1842. In 1848 he was elected Attorney-General and was re-elected in 1851. He resigned in 1853 to take the presidency of the Atlantic and Pacific Railway, and while occupying this position gave his services to the Law School. His topics were Criminal Law and Medical Jurisprudence. He was eminent at the bar of New York, and a prominent figure in the prosecution and defense of several trials famous in his day.

George H. Moore came in as professor of Legal History and Literature. Retiring in 1859, he returned to the faculty in 1871, and remained on its rolls until 1888. Moore was a *littérateur* rather than a lawyer. His historical writings were voluminous. He received the honorary degree of LL.D. in 1868. For many years prior to his death he was the Superintendent of the Lenox Library (1872-92). Although on the rolls of the faculty, he seems never to have assumed active work in the School. He was born in 1823, was graduated from the University in 1842 (A.B.), was a member of the Council from 1871 to 1883, and died in 1892.

The class of 1859 graduated eight, although there is no complete record of those in attendance. In 1859 the number of students in attendance increased from fifty-six to seventy,

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and the graduating class of 1860 numbered twenty-four.

Of the graduates of 1860 who rose to prominence at the bar of New York, may be mentioned the Hon. Asa Bird Gardiner and Jacob A. Geissenheimer. In the two years that followed, 1860-61, and 1861-62, little mention is made of the school, and "perilous times" seem again to have been the cause. Nevertheless, the students in attendance during 1860-61 were seventy-nine, and twenty received the degree in 1861. In 1861-62, seventy were in attendance and thirty-six received their degrees in 1862. Among these were two names which the alumni are always glad to honor, those of the Hon. Smith Ely, Jr., afterwards Mayor of New York City, and Hon. Meyer S. Isaacs, who became prominent at the bar of New York and a lecturer at the Law School.

In 1861 the same faculty was announced as in 1858, except for the omission of the names of Chatfield and Moore; but it was qualified by this statement: "The regular and systematic instruction is under the direction of Professor William B. Wedgewood, LL.D., with courses of lectures by other professors on select subjects."

The students were divided into two classes, senior and junior, with the significant statement that students who were competent could carry on the studies in both classes and complete the course in one year. Each year seems to have been divided into two terms of twelve weeks each. Here also appears for the first time the statement that "students are admitted to practice on their diploma without further examination." This practice was continued until 1877, when regular examinations for admission to the bar were instituted by the Supreme Court and have been continued to the present.

In 1862, Professor Cutler retired from the faculty, leaving Professors Wedgewood and Clerke masters of the field. They continued in their work until the end of the year

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1864, when Professor Wedgewood retired and a new and reorganized faculty took their place.

Of Peter Y. Cutler little is known, save that he was a member of the bar of New York, entered upon his duties as professor in 1858, and remained until his retirement in 1862. During this time he taught Evidence, Pleading and Practice, Civil Law, and Real Property.

William B. Wedgewood was graduated from the University with the degree of A.B. in 1836, and received the honorary degree of LL.D. in 1859. From his entrance upon the faculty in 1858 to his retirement in 1864, he appears to have borne the brunt of the work of the School. In that period, and for many years after, the Law School held its separate commencement; and a part of the exercises consisted of "orations" by the graduates selected by the class, supervised by the faculty. In the class of 1864, one of the orators made remarks which, in the opinion of the University officials, reflected upon President Lincoln. An investigation followed, which resulted in a finding which Professor Wedgewood regarded as a censure. His resignation followed, in these words: ". . . the first and only disapproval of my official acts has been occasioned by my omission to suppress the freedom of speech and the freedom of thought. If I should longer continue to hold the office of Professor in the Law Department of your University I would do so at the sacrifice of principles which I hold sacred. . . ."

As a reflection from this early date, it is interesting to quote Professor Wedgewood's partial "defense" to the suggestion that he was not in sympathy with the Union, when after reciting his own position and that of his family he adds: "No body of young men in this nation is more fully represented in the Union army than the graduates of this Law School and none have borne away more trophies of victory. Lieutenant Davis ('61) fought with General

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Hooker in the battle 'Above the Clouds', Captains Walsh ('61), Chatfield ('60), Meeks ('60) and Bates ('61), have shown themselves worthy of their rank in the gallant army of the Potomac; Lieutenant Jackson ('61) as aid to General Franklin, and Lieutenant West ('61) as aid to General Casey, gave their country valuable service. Colonel W. H. Brown ('60), of the Thirty-first regiment of New York volunteers, will carry to his grave the scars of hard-fought battles. Colonel J. Lafayette Riker ('60) of the Anderson Zouaves, fell gloriously leading his regiment at Fair Oaks. General Nelson Taylor ('59) of the Excelsior brigade, was promoted by the President for gallant conduct on the field of battle. . . ."

The three classes represented in this roster graduated eight, twenty-four, and thirty-four respectively. Eleven officers out of a total of sixty-six graduates was a record unexcelled. Professor Wedgewood continued his work as a teacher and lecturer and afterwards established the National School of Law in Washington, D. C. He published a volume of his lectures on Law, which attained wide circulation (5th ed., Banks & Brother, N. Y., 1868).

In 1862-63 there were seventy students in attendance, and twenty-five received degrees in 1863. Seventy-five were on the rolls in 1863-64 and twenty-one received degrees in 1864. The enrollment for the next few years shows the results of the war, as but sixteen were in attendance during 1864-65, and but five degrees were granted in 1865. The records for the next several years show an average of twenty-five to thirty-five students.

In 1864, the retirement of Professor Wedgewood necessitated a further reorganization, and the school opened in October, 1864, with the following faculty: Hon. Thomas W. Clerke, Professor of Law; John Norton Pomeroy, Dean and Professor of Law; Benjamin Vaughan Abbott, Professor of Law.

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The course was made to extend through two years of three terms each, each term consisting of twelve weeks. A new element seems to have been introduced in the method of instruction, whereby the students of the junior year were required to pursue the systematic course outlined, while a system of elective or "a wider range" is given to the senior class. At this time was introduced the system of special lectures upon various topics given by men prominent in their profession, a system which continued until 1896.

Abbott retired in 1865, probably because the number of students did not warrant his continuing. He was born in Boston in 1830, received his degree of A.B. from the University in 1850, studied law at Harvard, and returned to New York, where he practiced law until his death in 1890. During the year spent in the Law School he taught Contracts, Crimes, and Remedies. Like his famous brothers, he was a man of high attainments and an indefatigable worker, as is shown by the many volumes which bear his name. Reference will be made to his work in connection with our comment upon the work of his brother, Austin Abbott.

Professor Pomeroy, practically unaided, continued the work of the School along the lines laid down by him in 1864. He retired in 1871 and went to California, where he passed the remainder of his days in writing and practicing law. Of his work in the School, there are those living who can speak with admiration. Few men could equal his great learning and fewer still his energy in providing the profession with knowledge in books. Withal, his genial ways, his earnestness, and his treatment of the student as a fellow worker endeared him to all. During his term of office, sixty-one students received degrees, and one hundred and seventy-five were instructed by him. Among them we note the names of Hon. Elihu Root, ex-Judge Ernest Hall, Judge Willard Bartlett, ex-Judge Thomas S. Henry, Vice-Chancellor Eugene Stevenson, Hon. Randolph Gug-

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genheimer, Arthur von Briesen, William G. Peckham, and James Stokes, all of whom have added lustre to the fame of their instructor, to the School, and to their country.

With the retirement of Professor Pomeroy, the name of Thomas W. Clerke disappeared from the rolls of the faculty with which he had been connected since the organization of the school in 1858. Judge Clerke, at the time of his appointment, was a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, and remained on the bench during all of this time. The work assigned to him in 1858 was that of General Theory and Practice of American Law, including Municipal Law and Equity Jurisprudence, and this statement was published with his name during each successive year. The actual amount of work he did is not on record. It is known that Professors Wedgewood and Pomeroy bore the main burden of teaching, but it is taken for granted that Judge Clerke's lectures were included as a "course of lectures by other professors on select subjects." No information as to Judge Clerke is available. It is known that he was presiding justice in the First Department during the years 1868 and 1869. He was the author of *Rudiments of American Law and Practice*, 1842, and *Digest of Cases in the Supreme Court of New York*, 2 vols., 1841.

In August, 1871, upon the retirement of Professor Pomeroy, a new faculty was announced: Hon. Henry E. Davies, LL.D., president of the Faculty; Hon. E. Delafield Smith, A.M., professor; Hon. David R. Jaques, LL.B., professor; George H. Moore, LL.D., professor; Charles Francis Stone, A.M., professor.

The course of instruction was practically the same as before. Austin Abbott was announced as a lecturer at this time, and delivered a course of special lectures on Pleading and Practice almost every year, until his appointment in 1890 as dean of the School. This system of special lectures deserves a word or two of explanation. It was not an inno-

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vation in legal instruction; the idea had prevailed for many years and prevails to-day, especially in graduate classes. In undergraduate classes, the students are not usually willing to spend their time listening to lectures upon which no examinations depend, especially when the required work of the school takes their whole time. This, at least, is the experience of the Law School, for it was found that not half of the students attended in most cases. This was not, however, the reason advanced by the School for dispensing with these lectures, as it did in 1897, but rather because the character of the work required of the student made it impracticable to interrupt it by special assignments.

Upon the introduction of the new faculty in 1871, the moot court was made a special feature of instruction. This was held every Friday, taking up the time given to the regular work, and was presided over by Judge Davies, who had lately been relieved from the Chief Judgeship of the Court of Appeals and was now president of the Faculty.

This system of moot courts was continued as a part of the instruction until 1896. At this time, and probably from the beginning of work in 1858, the regular lectures of the School began at 4:00 P.M. and lasted until 5:30 or 6:00 P.M. From these eight or ten hours per week should be deducted the moot court hours on Friday, which reduced the required work to six to eight hours per week, making a total of two years with from twelve to sixteen hours of required work for the degree. From the inception of the School, the main work has been done in the afternoon hours. Butler recommended this because it allowed the student to spend the best portion of the day in office work; and the custom as to hours was continued, though the shibboleth of office practice for the student is rapidly disappearing. In 1871, there was little reason for office work, for the student was admitted to practice upon his diploma. Later, upon the introduction of the bar examinations, the Court of

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Appeals made the requirement of one year of practice in an office, allowing for one or two years spent in a law school, depending on whether the student happened to be a graduate of a college or not.

The requirements for entrance demand explanation. From the beginning up to 1895, no requirements for admission were exacted. The phrase "careful preparation is urgently recommended," which appeared annually in the announcement, was an empty one, for no questions were asked as to the prospective student's qualifications. The University Law School was not alone in this, however, for the same custom obtained in all the schools of this State. The University Law School was not the first to demand entrance requirements, however, nor has it always kept pace with the other schools of the State in this respect. It is enough, perhaps, to know that it is now abreast of the best schools of the country.

There is little information to be gained from the official publications of the Law School of this time as to the allotment of work to the different professors. Judge Davies seems to have done little except to preside at moot trials, and the main burden fell upon the shoulders of Professors Smith, Jaques, and Stone; for, as stated, Professor Moore's work was special and in History. Professor Smith retired in 1876. He was born in 1826, and received the degree of A.B. from New York University in 1846. He was United States District Attorney for the Southern District of New York 1861-65, and afterwards Corporation Counsel of the City of New York. In 1854-59 he edited the four volumes known as *E. D. Smith's Reports* of the decisions of the Court of Common Pleas. He was prominent at the bar of this City, having participated in several noteworthy cases of his time. He died April 12, 1878.

In 1881, President Davies died, and was succeeded as president (dean) by Aaron J. Vanderpoel. Judge Davies

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came from and was succeeded by a long line of men who have been and are prominent at the bench and bar of this country. He was born in 1805, was admitted to the bar of New York in 1826, and immediately became a prominent practitioner at the Bar of this State. In 1855 he was elected to the Supreme Court, and in 1859 was elected to the Court of Appeals for a period of eight years, the last two of which he presided as Chief Justice. He returned to New York City in 1867, and became counsel for the Mutual Life Insurance Company. In October, 1871, he accepted the position of Dean (or President), and remained at the head of the Faculty until his death in 1881. His wisdom and counsel were ever ready. His extensive practice precluded any great amount of teaching, but he guided the School during these years in a way to win him the admiration of all.

After Judge Davies resumed the practice of the law, all the incidental labor of the School devolved upon Professor Jaques, and was performed by him alone until 1881, though, as has been stated, Judge Davies remained president until his death, when he was succeeded by Mr. Vanderpoel, who died in 1887. Professor Jaques was then appointed dean of the Faculty, and remained such until 1891, when he retired, and was succeeded by Austin Abbott.

Aaron J. Vanderpoel, who succeeded Judge Davies as president of the Faculty, did not take any more active part in the work of the School than had his distinguished predecessor, but he gave to it the prestige of his name, and his interest and wisdom helped to guide the School during the years from 1881 to his death in 1887. Vanderpoel was prominent in the city for his great knowledge of the municipal and state statutes, and was often consulted and retained in cases involved in the interpretation of these statutes. He was born in 1825 and educated at the University, from which he received the degree of A.B. in 1843. He was for

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many years counsel for the sheriff of the city. From 1870 to 1887 he was a member of the University Council. He received the honorary degree of LL.D. in 1881 from the University. He died in Paris, August 22, 1887.

In 1888, Elliott F. Shepard, whose interest in the Law School was preëminent, gave to the Law Library the library of Vanderpoel, having purchased it for the purpose of thus presenting it.

In 1881, Professor Jaques secured the services of Professor Isaac Franklin Russell. During this time, Professors Stone and Moore, while nominally on the roll of the faculty, seem to have performed no work except as special lecturers.

From 1881 to 1891 the work of the School devolved entirely upon Professors Jaques and Russell, assisted by special lecturers. From the advent of Professor Jaques in 1871 to his retirement in 1891, covering a period of twenty years, 1,426 students were in attendance upon the lectures of the school, and 745 received the degree of LL.B. Among these, there is a long line of men who have gained prominence at the bench and bar of the country, and whose prominence reflects credit upon the School that proudly claims them. Most of them are still living, and a detailed statement of their careers would be but a repetition of facts of which the profession is already in possession.

Professor Jaques deserves more than a passing remark. He was born in Woodbridge, New Jersey, in 1823, and was graduated from Harvard College in 1842. Entering the Harvard Law School, he studied under Greenleaf and Story and received his degree in law in 1844. Then he came to New York to practice law. For some time he was connected with Surrogate Bradford, and during this time read, corrected, and revised the cases published by Judge Bradford, known as *Bradford's Reports*.

He afterward opened an office of his own, and built up a

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special surrogate practice, which brought him the respect of the profession because of his deep learning. He was a member of the Council of the City during 1864-65, and was one of two Republicans on that board. In 1871 he entered upon his duties with the University Law School and remained in active service for twenty years. An able lawyer and excellent instructor, he had a genial manner and an innate love for young men.

In 1889, the University included two professional schools using the name of the University, both of which were proprietary in the strict sense, the officers and professors of each school administering its funds, organizing its courses, and directing the appointment of its instructors.

Through the efforts of Vice-Chancellor MacCracken, the School of Law, which had experienced varying fortunes for forty years, as this or that eminent jurist came as lecturer, was in 1889 placed under direct University control. The Council undertook to administer its finances and to organize its courses. The classes were for the first time separated one from another, in all their exercises. The two professors and the several lecturers received their appointments direct from the Council. A deanship of the School was created, to which Dr. Jaques was appointed. Enlarged rooms were provided for the two classes upon the principal floor at Washington Square. From this date the Law School began a new era of progress.

In 1891 the work of the School of Law was further enlarged. Dr. Austin Abbott was called to the deanship to succeed Professor Jaques, who had resigned. The number of professors of law giving daily instructions was increased to four. A graduate division was established, in which thirty-three students were enrolled during the first year, 1891-1892.

The Law Faculty, which was to conduct the work from the autumn of 1891 on, was constituted thus: Dr. Jaques

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to be professor of the Graduate Chair of Law; Austin Abbott, LL.D., to be senior professor and dean, and associated with him, Isaac Franklin Russell, D.C.L., as Junior professor and secretary; Christopher G. Tiedeman, A.M., being senior adjunct professor of Law; Henry Wynans Jessup, Professor of Law of Procedure and Torts.

At the beginning of Dr. Abbott's term, the Council doubled the space of the Law School by the addition of two lecture rooms upon the second floor of the Washington Square Building. These accommodations soon proved too narrow. The needs of the Law School became, therefore, a strong argument for the speedy removal of the undergraduate work to University Heights, and the erection of a new building at Washington Square. Probably never was a law school housed as was this school in the year 1894-1895. A temporary wooden house was built among and around the iron columns of the first story of the new building, which had been begun in May, 1894. In this house, lecture rooms were provided sufficient to receive the Law School. Outside arose the noise of the hammer and windlass. Inside, the work of the Law School, under Dr. Abbott, went steadily forward. In the spring the Council was able to place the eighth floor at the command of the School, and on October 1, 1895, their quarters were completed and occupied.

Dr. Abbott's administration, which continued for five years, from 1891 until his death in 1896, was eminently successful and marks a distinct epoch in the history of the School. It was marked by so many features which were wanting in the former years that it would be difficult to recognize the School of 1891-96 as the School of 1858-91. The distinguishing and preëminent changes included a new method of instruction, the addition of the graduate classes, the growth of the Library, and the merging of the Metropolis Law School.

As stated, the method of instruction up to the accession

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of Dr. Abbott was the same as that outlined by Butler. Professor Jaques himself characterized it as follows: "The theory of legal education pursued in the school was the study of rules coördinated and classified, combined with the study of cases. Systematic knowledge of principles indispensable even to a profitable study of reports. The reported case is like the moral tale or fable, the concrete statement making a more vivid impression than any abstract precept."

Upon the reorganization in 1891 "radical changes were made from former methods." The changes made were the free application of the principles of modern education to professional study with the resources of a University. In a report to the Council, Dean Abbott observed:

The methods of instruction have been enlarged and diversified by the suggestions of experience as we have gone on. Some parts of all subjects are taught by lectures. A very few subjects are taught wholly by lectures. Some study of nearly all subjects is by textbooks. Some subjects are taught by cases, and some instructors teach entirely by cases. In our judgment, it is better that a student should have some training under each of the approved methods of instruction, for this broadens his views and prepares him the better for his professional experience. On some subjects . . . the lectures are aided by the printed statute in the hands of the class to study and construe as the exposition proceeds. In some subjects the exposition is assisted by chronological tables and charts behind the lecturer, which aid the student's effort to survey the whole field at once and hold in mind their salient points in relation to each other. And on some subjects other difficulties requiring interpretation or complex questions of title or lien and the useful instructions of legal analysis and the coördination of different principles are aided by the use of the blackboard.

As an aid in following out the above ideas, the "Law School Helps" were introduced. They were printed by way of illustration of different subjects, and during the period of Dr. Abbott's term, they reached seventeen in number. They consisted of copies of precedents, of statutes, of monographs, and lectures on the study of law, on the duties of

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lawyers, and in several instances, of reprints from Abbott's *Briefs*.

Dr. Abbott was wedded to no one method of instruction. His fundamental idea was that the world needed a trained bar, and that the function of a law school was to give the most thorough and perfect training practicable before an actual entry into practice. Law to him was a growing, living organism, and the science of law should be adapted to the life of the commonwealth, making it a "jurisprudence of utility." Dr. Abbott came to the duties of an instructor at the age of sixty, with no previous training along that line and with no fixed ideas as to methods. His first years of service were passed in an attempt to solve the problem of what was best. His term of office, cut off by his untimely death, was too short to answer the problem to his own satisfaction.

The year 1893 marked the first attempt to publish a periodical which should be representative of the School. Under Dr. Abbott's direction, *The University Law Review* was launched. "The object of the Review is to promote the scientific study of actual law. . . . By actual law, we mean the law in force to-day. . . . By study of the law we mean not so much the academic methods which the beginner pursues, but that larger sense in which all professional men are students." Such it became, and from the beginning up to Dr. Abbott's death, it wielded a distinct influence. Upon his death it was continued through the third volume, and then was suspended because of the larger problems confronting the School. No part of the expense of publication and editorial work was ever borne by the School. Dr. Abbott inaugurated, paid the initial expenses, and continued the *Review* until such time as it practically paid for itself.

Up to 1891 no law degree other than the LL.B. had ever been granted upon examination by the University. At this time, at the suggestion of Dr. Abbott, the graduate courses were inaugurated, the successful completion of

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which entitled the students to the degree of Master of Laws. They were intended for those holding the bachelor's degree and for "members of the Bar," both of whom were admitted. Here was to be continued the scientific study of the Law, i.e., "the examination and application of the existing law by considering it in relation to other parts of the law, to other sciences, and to the welfare of the community." At first, efforts were made to get from actual practice a knowledge of the law that could not be found, as yet, in books. Gradually, courses on historical jurisprudence and courses in advance of those topics taught in the undergraduate course were added. These courses have attracted a number of students, for from 1892 to 1903 inclusive, 124 received the degree upon examination. In 1895, admission for the degree was restricted to those holding the bachelor's degree, and five courses (covering five hours) were required.

Mention has already been made of the nucleus of the Law Library in the generous gift of John Taylor Johnston made in 1858-59. Owing to the status of the School as a proprietary one, and the fact that for many years the income from fees for tuition barely gave living salaries to the professors, accessions to the Library from 1858 to 1891 were few. Indeed, practically no books were purchased, the accessions being gifts. It is not known just how many volumes there were, for the reason that a library system embracing records, etc., was not introduced until 1892. Several small collections were also donated by one or two publishers of law books during this period.

The room devoted to the Library up to 1889 was not commodious and not well lighted. It was on the second floor of the old building. In 1889 it was removed to the first floor in a room which was larger and better ventilated, but no increase came in the books until 1891. At this time the collection amounted to five thousand volumes. Upon the accession of Dr. Abbott to the deanship, the necessity

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for a well-equipped library was recognized by the purchase of three hundred volumes, and the gift of David Banks, of the Council Committee on the Law Library, increased the number by two hundred. From this time until 1895, when the Library was moved into its new quarters in the new Washington Square Building, the accessions were scattered and few. No catalogue to speak of had been made, and no system introduced up to 1892. The Library was open only from 9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. Upon entering the new quarters, the staff prepared a complete catalogue, properly classified and with the modern economies introduced. It was immediately increased by the generous gifts of Abner C. Thomas and Clarence D. Ashley, representing the Metropolis Law School, who presented to the Library over five hundred volumes.

Following these gifts, came the gift of J. W. C. Leveridge, for many years a member of the Council, amounting to 554 volumes; and a further gift of David Banks of 148 volumes. These gifts brought the collection up to something like 8,000 volumes. No systematic purchase of books was begun until 1896-97, when, through the efforts of the Librarian, such a purchase was begun. At this time, not a single set of reports was complete, and an effort was made to secure all current reports, and as rapidly as possible to complete sets already owned. In 1897, Mrs. Margaret V. Shepard presented to the Library the collection of law books owned by her husband, the late Elliott F. Shepard. This collection numbered 1,390 volumes, and was a great boon to the School, duplicating as it did several important sets, where duplicates were most needed, and otherwise increasing the usefulness of the Library. In 1900 there came to the Library 954 volumes through the bequest of the late Chief Justice Daly. This collection added notably to the material equipment of the School, abounding as it did in historical treatises and rare volumes of cases.

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In 1890, Charles Butler provided an endowment consisting of \$5,000 for the "Butler Law Prize," in memory of his brother, Benjamin F. Butler, the founder of the School and its first professor. The income of this fund is used for three prizes in the senior class of \$100, \$60, and \$40, respectively, to the students ranking first, second, and third in that class. This is the only real endowment fund that the School possesses.

In 1889, Elliott F. Shepard established a tuition scholarship to bear his name for a period of five years. Shepard continued this scholarship during his lifetime, and his widow, Mrs. Margaret V. Shepard, has generously continued it to the present time. This scholarship is awarded as first honor to the student of the first year class maintaining the highest rank, and covers tuition for the second year.

For many years the School has maintained a system of scholarships and prizes. To the three students of the junior class maintaining the rank of second, third, and fourth are awarded faculty scholarships, which cover tuition for the succeeding year of work; to the students of the senior class two prizes of \$100 each, one for the best written examination and one for the best oral. In 1896 oral examinations were done away with and the method already outlined under the Butler prizes introduced.

In the Evening Division, two prizes of \$75 and \$50 have been maintained in each class, the money going to the students who rank first and second in their respective classes. Beyond these, no provision has been made for scholarships. It seems to be a well-recognized provision that the professional training school shall be free from scholarships. Nevertheless, a few scholarships might well be awarded in such a way as to redound to the credit of the school, the success of the bar, and the welfare of the student.

In 1894-95, negotiations were conducted between the

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officers of the University and the officers of the Metropolis Law School looking to a consolidation. This institution had been chartered by the Regents of the State of New York in 1891, and the work had been chiefly confined to giving instruction in the evening. At this time, the Metropolis School maintained a standard of admission in advance of the University; it also required a three years' course for graduation, and the method of instruction was modeled after that made so popular at Harvard by Professor Langdell. It was in every respect a model school, with a complete corps of able instructors, an enthusiastic body of students numbering about 180, and a circle of friends whose interest was significant. As against this, the University School had a much lower requirement for admission, a two years' course, and a method of instruction almost the direct opposite from that of the Metropolis.

The negotiations were successful. Friction was avoided by practically maintaining the two schools separate and distinct from each other for a period of years, the University School continuing on as before with its requirements, methods, and instructors, and the Evening Department continuing on with practically all of its old instructors, its methods and the time required for graduation. Only in one instance did the Evening Department give way, and that was in the requirements for admission. Under their charter, they were bound by the Regents of the State, while the University was bound only by its charter, a grant of the Legislature of 1831.

To operate these two departments harmoniously was no small task. The School was fortunate in being able to secure Professor Clarence D. Ashley to act as vice-dean in charge of the Evening Division, to associate with Dr. Abbott in the control of the schools. No combination could have been happier, and that no friction ever developed is due to the respect that these men paid to each other. This relationship

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continued for only one short year, however. The consolidation was effected in October, 1895, and in April, 1896, Dr. Abbott died. In 1894-95 the total registration of students in the University School was 281, and in the Metropolis 176. In 1895-96 the combined registration was 527, an increase of 70 students.

Austin Abbott was a member of a family distinguished for two generations in literature, his father, Jacob Abbott, clergyman and teacher, having written something like 200 volumes. He was born in 1831 and was one of four sons who were graduated from New York University, two entering the law, Austin and Benjamin Vaughan, and two the ministry. Dr. Abbott was admitted to the bar in 1852, and at once applied himself to the field of legal literature. In collaboration, he and his brother, Benjamin Vaughan, issued in rapid succession, *Abbott's Digest of New York Decisions*, and *Abbott's Practice Reports*, in 35 volumes; the *Digest of National Decisions*, in 12 volumes, and *Forms of Pleading*, in 2 volumes. After twenty years of joint labor the brothers divided their work. Thereafter Dr. Abbott published *Abbott's Court of Appeals Decisions*, 4 volumes; *Abbott's New Cases*, 31 volumes; and an *Annual Digest of New York Decisions*, which he continued to his death. In 1880 he published his *Trial Evidence*, his first treatise. Thereafter followed in quick succession his *Brief Books*, four in number, which gave to the profession an invaluable presentation of subjects of immense practical importance. He became dean of the Law School in 1891. For the five years following he published only two volumes, his *Select Cases on the Examination of Witnesses* and *Select Cases on Pleading*. Although he came to the deanship at the age of sixty, the school work became his controlling interest, all other labor being subordinated to this new field.

For many years Dr. Abbott stood as a commanding figure in the field of legal literature. Slight, though tall and

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erect in stature, his slender form supported a head of marked intellectual powers, impressing an observer with the complete domination in his personality of the mental over the physical. This impression deepened upon every advance in acquaintance. Those who knew him intimately found him unaffected by any conceit of knowledge, exceptionally modest and gracious of demeanor. Few men of modern times have been so devoted to research in Law, or have placed such rich stores of erudition at the command of their professional brethren. His life work will never be forgotten or outgrown, but will ever play an inseparable part in the continued progress of the law.

Just as the periods heretofore mentioned stand in prominent contrast, so the School of to-day stands in contrast with the period which immediately preceded it, for the changes made were more direct and radical than any which had before been made. They may be summarized as follows: the introduction of the study of Law by cases; an increase in the requirements for the degree; an increase in the requirements for admission; the growth of the Law Library; the introduction of numerous additional courses to the curriculum; the introduction of work covering all hours of the day and on Saturdays; the granting of the degree of Doctor Juris; the granting of the degree of Juris Scientiae Doctor for the fourth (graduate) year of work.

Upon the death of Dr. Abbott in April, 1869, Vice-Dean Ashley continued as Acting Dean for the remainder of the school year, and was elected to the deanship in October. The work of the School for the balance of the year following Dr. Abbott's death was undisturbed, Dr. Abbott's work being cared for by Professors Tiedeman and Alden. In October, 1896, Professor Ashley took over the major portion of Dr. Abbott's hours; a course of lectures on Equity Jurisprudence was delivered by the Hon. William Wirt Howe; and Professor Miller, of the Evening School, took

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up the work of the Code. Professor Tiedeman resigned in June, 1897; and in October, 1897, Professors Kenneson, Sommer, and Arthur Rounds of the Evening School, together with Professors Ashley, Russell, Erwin, and Miller constituted the Day Faculty.

The instructors from the Metropolis Law School brought with them in 1895 the method of teaching Law by means of selected cases, and, when they took up the work of the Day School, naturally introduced that method into their classes. From the time of its introduction at Harvard and for many years thereafter, the so-called case system became the subject of much praise and considerable criticism. It suffices, perhaps, to assert that with but few exceptions it has become the accepted method throughout the United States. Starting with a particular dispute over a given set of facts, it seeks to reach a logical and reasonable conclusion, which crystalizes into a general principle applicable to similar sets of fact and by analogy to modifications thereof. Although, in general, the case system is the basis of instruction in the Law School, to each instructor is left its application in form and manner to accomplish the desired results. It has revolutionized the teaching of Law, and made for greater efficiency in both student and instructor. It is not going too far to say that, while it may be, and is even now in the process of modification, the basic method is here to stay.

Requirements for the degree in Law have been slow of growth, but nevertheless positive. From the "articled clerk," whose study was overseen (we might well say overlooked) by some member of the firm, grew courses of lectures given by learned lecturers, which in some instances developed into law schools. The body of law of a century and even a half century ago was meagre compared with that of to-day; and so we find the earlier schools carrying on a one-year course, which with a period spent in an office, was

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declared properly to fit students for admission. The insistence of Mr. Butler that three years were necessary found little support for many years. Indeed, upon the revival of the work of the school in 1858, a student could complete his work in one year. This continued until the advent of Dean Pomeroy, when two years were adopted for the completed course. So far as the University Law School is concerned, this continued down to 1900.

Mention has been made of the apparent conflict that arose upon the consolidation of the Metropolis Evening School with the University in 1895—the Evening School adhering to three years, the Day School to two. It was not that the Council did not want to increase the length of the term, but that lack of endowment and competition with other schools caused it to hesitate. In 1900 the School formally adopted the three-year standard, which it maintains to-day. Starting originally with eight to ten hours per week for a period of six months, the School early increased its year to eight months, and now requires not less than twelve hours of classroom instruction per week. At that, the faculty finds it little enough, and, to accomplish all that it deems necessary, has lengthened the school year to practically nine months.

For some years past, the associations of the bar, urged on by the bench, have given much thought to preparation for the bar, and have insisted that too many students with insufficient preparation have come into the profession. This has had its effect upon the examinations for admission, which in turn have affected both the length of term and the curriculum of the law schools. Some years ago a convention of lawyers chosen by the American Bar Association met and laid down requirements as to length of time to be devoted to the work of schools and the minimum entrance requirements. These were adopted by that Bar Association, and thereafter that Association sought to force these requirements by visitation and gradation.

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Outside the large centers of population there is little demand for evening instruction, and a majority of the Association has never been in sympathy with evening work. The University has had first-hand experience in that work since 1893. In 1914, Dean Ashley filed a "Protest" which was widely circulated, in which he demonstrated by facts and figures that our evening graduates who entered the Bar, were the equal, if not the superiors, of our day men. In the face of the "incoming horde," however, the Association insisted that where work was to be given in the late afternoon and evening, the course must be spread over four years, and that is the requirement to-day. In 1930, then, our University Council, in the face of competition with not less than four other schools in the metropolitan district of New York, and in the face of meagre endowment, courageously faced the situation and adopted these requirements, thus easily placing our School within the American Bar Association's category of "best schools." This effect has, for the present, been felt in those particular classes by a loss of students, but, by the same token has increased our day classes. It is probable that the State will sooner or later adopt this requirement. This led to the fact that beginning with the reorganization of the School in 1891, the University Law School has taken the lead in requirements for admission as well as requirements for graduation well in advance of State requirements; and we believe that our position in so doing has been a potent "inducement" to the Court of Appeals of the State of New York in increasing the requirements for admission to the Bar.

In 1890, the University opened the doors of the Law School to women, and three women were among those who received the degree in 1892. Since that time, women students have come in increasing numbers and easily take their places with men students in ability and application to the work. In no small way have our women graduates "come

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into their own," especially in politics and social service.

No change from the old to the new has been more progressive and, of late, more radical than the increase in requirements of admission to the School for candidates for the degrees in Law. From 1838 to the end of the middle period (1889) the entrance requirement was "a common school education" with recommendations for general reading in subjects usually covered in high school or academy, including History, English, and Latin. In May, 1865, at the completion of Dean Pomeroy's year of work, he recommended five students to the Council for degrees, each of whom was a college graduate. With the introduction of modern ideas, however, came the requirement of two years of high school training, which was in 1896 increased to three, and in 1900 to graduation from a high school maintaining a four-year course.

For years, the American Bar Association, spurred to action by the insistent demands for better preliminary training, had been seeking to raise standards, and finally adopted in 1925 the requirement of two years of college work. Their difficulty, however, lay in their inability to persuade the States to adopt this standard. The University in 1924 raised its requirement to one year of college work, and in 1926 to two years of college work. In 1930 the State of New York adopted the one-year requirement, and in 1931 adopted the two-year requirement. In taking this action, the University again demonstrated its desire to be well in advance of the existing requirements. It is interesting to note that the State of New York was among the first to adopt one and afterwards two years of college work as an entrance requirement, and that there are even now a number of states which have refused to accept this standard.

From the entrance of Dean Pomeroy, the demands of the faculty for an adequate Law library have been insistent. The Library was largely increased at that time; but the

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funds of the School were such as to admit of no great increase, except by gift, until the advent of Dean Abbott, when a substantial increase was secured. In 1895, a more determined stand was taken by the faculty which has resulted in placing this most necessary adjunct of the School upon a permanent basis. The Library now contains upwards of 40,000 volumes and is very rich in all reports published in English, with duplicates of the reports most commonly used by our students.

In 1903, Dean Ashley and his faculty added to the curriculum a number of courses on special subjects not theretofore given, and students were given an opportunity to elect them, subject to an insistence upon the course including the main or standard subjects. But the subjects necessary to a well-rounded curriculum could not be given within the limited time of the regular hours of recitation. Dean Ashley and Professor Tompkins, therefore, offered certain of these courses in the morning and early afternoon. The experiment was a success; and, finding that so large a number of our students would attend in the morning, the School adopted a morning course which paralleled the afternoon and evening courses, and prompted the introduction of Saturday courses. The morning course has now become the Day School, and in it is the greater number of our students. The introduction of the four-year evening course already mentioned may lead us to a consolidation of the afternoon and evening classes for the present, awaiting the adoption of a rule which shall place the State of New York in line with the American Bar Association requirements.

The degree first conferred by the University upon its Law School graduates was that of Bachelor of Laws, and this continued to be the degree down to 1903. In 1891, upon the establishment of graduate work, the degree of Master of Laws was adopted. In granting these degrees,

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the University made no distinction between college graduates and non-graduates, an apparent inconsistency. In 1903 the faculty recommended to the Council and Chancellor, and those authorities acquiesced in the adoption of, the degree of Juris Doctor (J.D.) as the first law degree to be granted to college graduates who successfully complete the required course, and that of Juris Scientiae Doctor (J.S.D.) to those college graduates who possess the degree of J.D. and complete an additional year of work in the School. To the granting of the latter degree, there was added compulsory completion of courses in Analytical and Historical Jurisprudence and in the Science of Law.

The field of Law has grown with surprising rapidity. As soon as science opens up new fields of endeavor, so new fields of Law open up. The specialist is now becoming common, whereas in the old days every lawyer was "versed in all law," except that there appears to have been the specialist in Admiralty. To-day, governmental regulation extends to the public utilities; and the advent of the airplane and the radio has started a line of law applicable to them only. Unfair competition in industry is receiving much attention from our government, and special laws applicable thereto are in the making. The basis of each, however, is the same as in the earlier days and always will be. To keep pace with these new fields is the duty of the Law School; to do this not only must the curriculum be extended but the lengthening of the course must also follow. It is likely that the future will see radical changes in both curriculum and term of study.

In January, 1916, Dean Clarence D. Ashley died. He was entering upon his twenty-first year of service to the Law School. He was born in 1851 and educated at Yale and the Columbia Law School. He served an apprenticeship in company with William A. Keener, a graduate of Harvard Law School, and later the two were associated as

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partners. Keener later went to Harvard as an instructor, and still later became the dean of Columbia Law School. It was Keener's influence upon Dean Ashley that eventually caused Dean Ashley to turn to teaching Law. In 1890, in company with Abner C. Thomas, he established the Metropolis Law School, in which the work was given in the evening. They adopted the case system, and the work of the School covered three years. While not particularly remunerative to its founders, the School thrived and attained an excellent reputation. Three classes were graduated in 1893, 1894, and 1895 respectively.

In 1895 the Metropolis and the University Law Schools were merged. Dean Ashley came into the School as vice-dean, and upon the death of Dean Abbott in 1896 became dean. Dean Ashley has much to his credit. He established evening legal education in New York and maintained it upon a high basis. Upon his coming to the deanship, he introduced the inductive or case method of legal education which it maintains to-day. He impelled the University to a three-year standard for the Day School to correspond with the evening work. He established the Morning Division of the School, now its most prominent and successful division. He insisted upon an enlargement of the graduate curriculum, and further insisted upon and put into effect requirements of work which practically doubled the time and work of that division. Upon assuming the deanship, he gave up an active practice and assiduously devoted himself to the work of the School and the problems of legal education. He was an inspiring teacher and an excellent drill-master with first-year students. He edited several case-books on Contracts, his favorite subject, and in 1911 brought out his book on the *Law of Contracts* which received high praise, and to this day stands as a contribution to that phase of the law. Upwards of ten thousand students came and went within his twenty-one years of service with the

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University. To them he imparted a vital part of himself. In the language of Chancellor Brown, “. . . in the history of our Law School his long service as Dean and Professor must occupy an important place.” He was succeeded by Frank H. Sommer, a graduate of the Metropolis Law School in 1893, who came over from that School as an instructor in 1895.

As a result of the World War, all branches of education received an impetus which has few parallels in history. In 1920 a veritable influx of students came to us, which presented new and intricate problems which Dean Sommer has had to cope with. It involved among other things a duplication of the three divisions, a reconciliation of the work of the School with the new requirements of the American Bar Association, and a reorganization of the curriculum to meet the specialties arising from new inventions. To all of these, and to the hundred and one problems created thereby, Dean Sommer has devoted his time and energy unstintedly. His contacts with leaders of legal education, his successful endeavor to instil the University spirit into the students, and his establishment of the *University Law Review* upon a basis which has brought it recognition as one of the leading legal periodicals are also among his achievements. His work has won the approval of the University authorities, his faculty, and the hosts of students who have been taught by him.

Thaddeus D. Kenneson, a graduate of Harvard in Arts as well as Law, was brought into the faculty of the Metropolis Law School by Professors Ashley and Thomas, and upon the merger in 1895 came to the University as a professor, where he remained until 1924, the year of his death. Professor Kenneson's work was largely concentrated upon Equity and Trusts. He was an excellent teacher, with a trenchant mind, who compelled the interest of his students in the subject he was teaching largely because of his criti-

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cism of established rules, and his insistence upon what the law ought to be. He continued in practice until 1914, when he was afflicted with a disease which seriously affected his lower limbs but left his mind as alert as ever. From that time to his death, he devoted his entire time to the work of the School. In his twenty-nine years of service, he met practically every student in the School, and the impress of his teaching will remain to succeeding generations through the establishment by his family of a fellowship in the School, which bears his name.

Professor Frank Alexander Erwin served the Law School as an instructor for thirty-two years. He was a graduate of Williams and thereafter engaged in teaching in the Peekskill Military Academy, from which he came to the Sachs' Institute in New York. While there he studied law at the University, receiving his degree in 1891. In 1893 he succeeded Henry Wynans Jessup as the junior professor and remained with us until the end of the school year 1924-25, at which time he retired; he died July 18, 1930. Professor Erwin concentrated on the subject of Torts, but in his long service taught a number of other subjects. He was the editor of case-books on Torts and Sales, and wrote texts on both of those subjects. Dignified in mien and learned in the law, he won the respect of his classes. His time and advice were always at the student's disposal. His work was largely with first-year classes, and he met that class in all divisions. In this way he came to know every student.

On July 4, 1931, Professor Francis W. Aymar died. He came to the faculty as an instructor in 1901, and completed thirty years of service to the University. By force of circumstances he had gone into business in his early years. Becoming prosperous, he devoted his leisure hours to study and was admitted to the bar in 1898, and immediately started in practice. With a desire to teach, he accepted

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special work with us, and upon the resignation of Professor Arthur C. Rounds in the fall of 1903, he was given additional classes and thereafter continued as a full-time instructor to the day of his death. An interesting and inspiring teacher, he was able to engage the interest of his students in such a manner as to win for himself their respect.

In the fall of 1931, Isaac Franklin Russell entered upon his fifty-first year of service in the Law School. He had been stricken in the early part of the year by a progressive malady, but hoped to be able to complete this current year and thus "out-service" any executive and teacher who has ever served the University. While easily bearing the palm for continuous service, his desire to complete this current year was not to be fulfilled. He fell ill in October and died on the twentieth of November. He was born in 1857, the year in which plans were laid for the reestablishment of the Law School. At the age of fourteen, he entered the University College, whence he was graduated in 1875. He then entered the Law School and received his LL.B. in 1877. Thereafter he spent three years at Yale and received the degree of D.C.L. in 1880. In the fall of that year he delivered a course of lectures in the Law School; and, in 1881, to use his own expression, he "went on the payroll" where he was to remain for over a half century. He became not only an assistant teacher, but also an assistant executive to Professor Jaques, and the two carried on the work of the School up to 1891, aided only by special lecturers. In 1889, Professor Jaques was elevated to the deanship and Professor Russell became Secretary of the School. Upon the reorganization in 1891, he was continued in the office of the Secretary, which he held until 1898. Law School sessions were then held from 4:00 to 6:00 P.M. Professor Russell was thus able to fill the chair of Economics, International and Constitutional Law in the College, wherein he continued until 1894, when the College was removed to

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University Heights. Thereafter he took up the work of lecturer to the Women's Law Class, in which work he continued for many years. In the meantime he continued his work in the Law School.

In 1910 he accepted the Chief Justiceship of the reorganized Court of Special Sessions, where he continued for a period of six years, but never severed his relations with his classes, and upon his retirement from the Bench, returned to his full-time work in the Law School. To have one's service span half of the University's existence opens a panorama filled with stirring events and historical detail. From small beginnings he had seen the University and its Law School grow to proportions undreamed of by the founders. In his years of service, upwards of 25,000 students came under his tutelage—a veritable army! He died full of years and replete with the affection of the thousands of students whom he had helped to train.

Historical comparisons are not odious. In 1859 the Law School had upwards of thirty students and one active instructor. In 1931-32, its students number 1,230, and its active instructors 28, exclusive of lecturers on special subjects. In 1859 its library was practically nothing; to-day it numbers 40,000 volumes. Starting without influence or renown, it has encircled the earth with its graduates and has made its influence felt in both the written and unwritten law of the world, for its graduates, native and foreign, have gone forth to fulfil their destinies for which the preparation gained here has fitted them. The roster of its graduates who have attained honor and distinction at the bar, on the bench, in the halls of legislation, in the field of legal literature, and on the field of battle is far too long to bear repetition here. Worthy sons, they reflect glory upon the institution that fostered them and in turn they have been generous in praise and faithful in adherence.

CHAPTER XII

THE UNIVERSITY AND BELLEVUE HOSPITAL MEDICAL COLLEGE

ONE hundred years ago the University of the City of New York received its charter from the Legislature. This was the culmination of a movement that was started in 1829 by a company of nine men of high standing in the city, men prominent in social, professional, and civic affairs, who were convinced that the opportunities provided for higher education in this new country were too restricted and not adapted to the needs or the desires of the people at large; that above the common schools there were only the colleges whose educational courses were designed for the relatively few who intended to enter the learned professions, particularly theology, or to engage in literary and scholarly pursuits. These nine men, who were the first among the founders of the University, comprised two clergymen (the pastor of the South Reformed Dutch Church and rector of Grace Church), two physicians (the professor of Anatomy and Physiology, J. Augustine Smith, and the professor of Surgery, Valentine Mott), one lawyer (the district attorney), two merchants, one banker, and one gentleman of leisure. Harvard, Yale, Union, and Columbia colleges were represented; the men were all between thirty-seven and forty-seven years of age. They issued a call for a meeting which was held on January 6, 1830, to discuss "the establishment of a university in this city on a liberal and extensive foundation," and it was then unanimously resolved that it was "highly desirable and expedient" that such a university should be founded in this city. The chairman of this meeting was General Morgan Lewis,

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who had been Chief Justice of the State in 1801 and Governor in 1805 and 1806; he was a graduate of Princeton in the class of 1773, had served in the Burgoyne campaign in 1777, and had been quartermaster-general in the War of 1812. The secretary of the meeting was Hugh Maxwell, the district attorney.

In order to have a full and open discussion of the subject by the leaders in the field of education throughout the country, a call was issued for a convention to be held in the Common Council Chamber in the City Hall on October 20, 1830. The convention lasted for three days; all the larger colleges were represented and most of the smaller ones. Among those present were Professor Silliman, H. E. Dwight, and Theodore Woolsey from Yale, Jared Sparks from Harvard, Professors Hodge and Patton from Princeton, Francis Lieber of Boston, and many others in person or by letter. The proceedings of this convention were published in a book of 286 pages by John Delafield, who acted as secretary. Professor Ernest G. Sihler,¹ in his history of New York University, says: "No convocation of such a nature had ever before, we believe, been held within the fifty-six years of national life." The broad and liberal views generally expressed at the convention confirmed the founders in the soundness of their proposal. They therefore set to the work of organization: raising funds by popular subscription, electing a council for the proposed institution, forming the faculty, and applying to the Legislature for incorporation.

The University's founders planned to organize a faculty of medicine as soon as practicable, saying in their application for incorporation: "they are well aware of the solicitude of the Legislature to provide for a thorough and scientific education of students in medicine and surgery and . . . the fact cannot be concealed that, compared with other

¹ Sihler, Ernest G.: *History of New York University*, vol. 1, p. 54.

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States, a much more limited success has attended the efforts to establish medical schools in the State than had been anticipated." This Medical Department, though a component part of the original plan, could not be established for ten years to come.

The courses of instruction in medicine originally proposed were the following: Anatomy, human and comparative; Physiology; Theory and Practice of Physic; Clinical Medicine; Principles and Practice of Surgery; Surgical and Pathological Anatomy; Clinical Surgery; Midwifery and the Diseases of Women and Children; *Materia Medica*; Pharmacy; Chemistry; Botany; Medical Jurisprudence.

In organizing this new university there was no unfriendly feeling toward Columbia College, for, to quote Professor Sihler again: "The University was designed to cover ground not occupied by this or any other institution in the city." Yet, although the Council gave expression to these sentiments, the trustees of Columbia College did not watch developments in any helpful spirit. This was made clear enough when the Council was confronted with the immediate necessity of finding a building.

Columbia in 1830 had an endowment of about \$400,000 and was well housed in attractive grounds west of City Hall Park. Not far from this site, just north of the City Hall, on Chambers Street, there was a building owned by the city which had historical interest because it had been occupied by the Almshouse until that institution was removed in 1816 to the Belle Vue Farm. The city authorities had leased this building, rent free, for several years to literary and scientific societies; it was called the New York Institution. In 1830 it was the headquarters of the Lyceum of Natural History, the New York Historical Society, the Academy of Arts, and the Literary and Philosophical Society. Dr. Griscom, a highly esteemed physician, gave a

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regular course of chemical lectures there. It was the hope of the Council that the University might coöperate with Columbia College in obtaining for a limited period from the city the use of rooms in this establishment. The city authorities took a favorable view of this and called a conference of the University and the Columbia authorities, but Columbia, after agreeing to meet, abruptly withdrew. The proposal was thereupon withdrawn by the University.

At this time Columbia College had no medical department. Nine years after the close of the Revolutionary War, the Medical School of King's College was revived as the Medical Faculty of Columbia College. It did not meet with success; it languished away, and between the years 1811 and 1814, having graduated during eighteen years only thirty-four in the M.D. degree, it was gradually absorbed by a new school, the College of Physicians and Surgeons. Columbia had no medical faculty again until 1860, nearly fifty years later.

In 1784 an act was passed by the Legislature placing all systematic instruction in elementary schools throughout the State under a Board of Regents. This was somewhat altered in 1787, when the University of the State of New York was established. Five years later the Legislature passed a law entitled: "An Act to enable the Regents of the University of the State to establish a College of Physicians and Surgeons within this State." The Council of New York University in its application to the Legislature was therefore quite right in alluding to the solicitude of that body for medical education.

The Board of Regents did not exercise the powers given it by this act until nearly fifteen years had gone by, as it waited to see what success should attend the new faculty of Medicine at Columbia; but this did not flourish. At last, in 1807, the College of Physicians and Surgeons was organized, and the Regents took steps to coalesce the two facul-

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ties into one. By 1814 this was accomplished and it was thought that, under such auspices and with liberal aid from the State, the College would become the leading institution of its kind in the United States, taking the honors from Pennsylvania, where somewhat similar difficulties between rival schools had been composed in 1791 by the union of the departments of Medicine of the College of Philadelphia and of the University of Pennsylvania in one medical faculty.

The professors constituting this faculty in New York were well-educated and cultured men of outstanding ability in science, yet within five years the College became involved with the New York County Medical Society in one of the most acrimonious quarrels that has ever occurred in the history of the medical profession in this city. The result was the resignation of most of the faculty, who thereupon organized a separate college under the name of the Rutgers Medical Faculty as a part of Rutgers College at New Brunswick in New Jersey, but with its school in Duane Street, New York. Dr. Valentine Mott was one of the chief movers in this scheme, the others being David Hosack, Samuel L. Mitchell, Francis Macneven, and Godman. This College could not obtain an independent charter from the New York Regents, and in 1827 it united with Geneva College in New York State, now called Hobart College.² There was already a small medical school at Fairfield, near Utica, which had been established in 1812 under the Regents and called the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the Western District of New York; it graduated 589 students between 1816 and 1840, when it became extinct.

This is enough to show the troubled state of the medical schools in New York when the University broached the

² Dr. Gunning S. Bedford, the first professor of Midwifery in the University Medical College, was graduated in medicine at Rutgers in 1830. Cf. also D. Hosack: *An Inaugural Discourse Delivered at the Opening of Rutgers Medical College in the City of New York*. New York, 1826.

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subject in 1830. The faculties were not the only ones concerned about the education of doctors and the welfare of the public. Members of the profession in several counties of the State had formed local societies for mutual help and scientific discussion. Through their efforts an act was passed in April, 1806, incorporating the Medical Society of the State of New York and regulating the practice of physic and surgery. In the preface to the first volume of its *Transactions*, 1807, it is said: "this may be considered as among the first efforts made in this country, to give to the medical Profession an honorable station in the community." This is not a strictly true statement because state medical societies had been formed in New Jersey in 1766, in Massachusetts in 1781, in Delaware in 1790, in New Hampshire in 1791, and in Connecticut in 1792.³

By this New York act the society was empowered to issue licenses to practice, after examination by its Board of Censors, to students twenty-one years of age, who were qualified by having studied three years, including two courses of lectures in a recognized medical school. No matter what college had granted the degree, they must be passed by the Society. It was this law that caused most of the trouble between the County Society and the College of Physicians and Surgeons ten years later. The Society charged that the faculty, in the desire to enroll large classes and so increase emolument, were too lenient in their examinations, and were not exacting from the students close enough attention to the course of study.

The faculty of the College of Physicians and Surgeons was composed of the following professorships: Natural Philosophy, Benjamin DeWitt; Chemistry, Macneven; Natural History and Botany, Samuel L. Mitchell; Anatomy, Physiology, and Surgery, J. Augustine Smith and

³ Welch, William H.: *The Relation of Yale to Medicine*, 35 pp., New Haven, 1901. Reprinted from *Yale Medical Journal*, New Haven, 1901-02, vol. 8.

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W. Post, jointly; Theory and Practice of Physic, David Hosack; Clinical Medicine, Hamersley; Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children, Osborn; Legal Medicine, Stringham; Principles and Practice of Surgery, Valentine Mott; Materia Medica, John W. Francis.

This list is imposing, especially when it is realized that the course was to be covered in four months. A week was taken up by each professor at the beginning in an introductory lecture, usually of historical character, in which he had a chance to display his broad erudition in the best oratorical style at his command. The teaching was largely didactic lecturing, and good oratory added much to the pleasure and profit to the student. Professor Hosack was a typical example; Dr. John C. Dalton, who was professor of Physiology from 1855 to 1883, said of Dr. Hosack: "The most prominent man in the affairs of the college at this time was David Hosack. . . . He was especially popular as a teacher; and his lecture hour is said to have been awaited by all with eager expectation. His sonorous voice and impressive manner, and the changing expression of his face, gestures, and utterance, held the attention of his class and gave them an instructive entertainment rather than the didactic monotony of a lecture." In 1816-1817 the class numbered 192 students. Hosack lectured daily; he also lectured twice a week on obstetrics and diseases of women and children.

Clinical instruction had a small place in the curriculum. Among the few institutions that were available was the New York Hospital on Broadway, some four blocks north of Chambers Street and directly opposite the College; the students were instructed at the hospital daily between twelve and one o'clock. Before the Almshouse was removed to Bellevue, Dr. Macneven gave clinical instruction there, and clinical midwifery was taught in the lying-in ward. Besides these two, there was the New York Eye and Ear

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Infirmary in Mercer Street near Spring Street, the Asylum for Lying-in Women in Marion Street, and the New York Dispensary in Center Street.

The position of Chemistry and Physiology in the medical course required small laboratory equipment; Anatomy too was compelled to depend largely upon preserved specimens, anatomical dissections, and engraved plates; but the museum that belonged to the professor of *Materia Medica* and Botany was rich in specimens of plants and minerals.

At the time the Council of the University proposed to establish a new college, there were nineteen medical schools in the United States, from Hanover, New Hampshire, to Augusta, Georgia; including two in the West, one at Louisville, and one at Cincinnati. The medical faculty of McGill University was forming; its first class was graduated in 1833. The best of these schools were the University of Pennsylvania, founded in 1765, Harvard in 1782, Dartmouth in 1797, the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York in 1807, Yale in 1812, the University of Maryland in 1820, and the Medical College of South Carolina, an excellent school, in 1823.

The great needs were, first, a lengthening of the term of study; second, recognition of the importance of Chemistry; third, removal of the legal restrictions to the study of Anatomy which were such a hindrance; fourth, the making of Physiology something more than an appendage to the chair of Anatomy or to that of Surgery; and fifth, a closer relation with hospital and dispensary practice. Professor Welch quotes from Professor Fisher's *Life of Benjamin Silliman*, who held the chair of Chemistry and Natural History at Yale in 1802, and who was one of the founders of the Medical Institute of Yale College, as it was first called, in 1812: "Expecting," as he says, "from the first to be ultimately connected with a medical school in Yale College," he attended both in Philadelphia and in Edinburgh,

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where he had gone mainly for chemical study, courses upon Anatomy, Materia Medica and Botany, and the Theory and Practice of Medicine. What induced Professor John W. Draper to come from Hampden Sidney College in Virginia, to take the chair of Chemistry in the academic department of the New York University, according to Professor Sihler, was the proposed organization of a medical school here. In a historical note in the announcement of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and College, it is stated that in 1822 Dr. William Austin, physician to the hospital, delivered the first course of lectures on Chemistry.⁴

It is gratifying to discover that the Council of New York University took so advanced a stand at the outset. It was not able to consider the medical department project earnestly again until the latter part of 1837, when on December 5 it adopted the plan of its medical committee. This committee, headed by Charles Butler, whose many services to the University are commemorated in Butler Hall on University Heights, expressed a far-sighted view of the way "to promote the cause of medical science—to give elevation and dignity to the healing art." It further advocated that "the most enlarged and thorough plan of instruction should be adopted, and several important principles of reform should be incorporated in any faculty now to be organized."

The plan was modeled largely after the University of Paris Medical School; it provided the mode of appointment and the qualifications of professors, the duration of the term of study, the qualifications of students on admission and the organization of the faculty. But the members of the committee had no illusions; though they thought the terms should be enlarged to a much longer period "than is now required by this or any other of the States of which the committee have any knowledge . . .," they feared that "to

⁴ Announcement of Session, 1902-1903, London, p. 19.

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recommend a term of four years would prove fatal to the hopes and prospects of the Faculty." They decided upon two years and two series of lectures, the first of four months and the second of three months during each year. The term prescribed at Yale in 1812 was six months—two years for college graduates, three years for others—a longer term than at any other school in the country; but this was afterward cut to five months, then in 1824 to four months. In 1823 the term at Yale extended from the second week in November to the last week in February.⁵

The new proposed faculty was based on the faculty of the medical school in Paris and made up of seventeen chairs with twenty-four professors and twenty-four adjunct professors. This was to be the goal to be aimed at to be reached some time in the future.

Plans for the organization of the Medical Faculty in 1837 included instruction in Anatomy, Physiology, Chemistry, Medical Physics, Medical Natural History, Pharmacy, Hygiene, Surgery or Surgical Pathology (two professors, two adjuncts), Medicine or Medical Pathology (two professors, two adjuncts), General Pathology and Therapeutics, Surgical Anatomy Operations and Apparatus, Materia Medica, Medical Jurisprudence, Midwifery, Clinical Medicine (four professors, four adjuncts), Clinical Surgery (three professors, three adjuncts), Clinical Midwifery.

It was stated that "the faculty of medicine shall prescribe the course of instruction . . . subject to the approbation of the Council"; that "the course shall be enlarged to the full term of four years and the number of professors increased, as soon as circumstances will justify the Council in adopting such enlarged course"; and that "the expense of the entire annual course shall not exceed one hundred and twenty dollars."

⁵ Welch, *op. cit.*

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The personnel of the medical faculty and the actual number of professorships were not determined for some time; many individuals of greater or less prominence made application and others were proposed. The first man to be chosen was Dr. Valentine Mott, one of the founders and a member of the Council. At this time the Chancellor stated "that it was in contemplation to establish two professorships, viz: Ophthalmic Surgery and Dentistry." The first of these did not appear upon the scene till 1874 in the person of Dr. St. John Roosa; and the second took a long time in arriving. Dr. Roosa was one of the founders of the New York Postgraduate Medical School and Hospital; it was the first attempt to organize a postgraduate school within the University.

It would serve no useful purpose here to tell the reasons for the delay in starting the Medical College; the obstacles were partly financial and partly rival interests; however, things were satisfactorily settled and the School was inaugurated in October, 1841. The faculty comprised six chairs; there was no professorship of Physiology.

The first announcement, written in the usual glowing terms, states that, considering the short term of four months, this limit to the number of chairs will give more time for Practical Anatomy and clinical lectures, and therefore should have the effect of elevating medical education rather than otherwise. The teaching of Physiology was usually assigned to the chair of Anatomy or the chair of Surgery, or, as here, to the Institutes of Medicine. The announcement says, "the details of the *materia medica*, when taught as they usually are . . . are necessarily dry, but when their study is combined with that of physiology and pathology, as it is when the Chair of *Materia Medica* forms a part of that of the Institutes of Medicine, it becomes deeply interesting." At this time in France the work of Magendie and his pupil Bernard was bringing the science of Physiology

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into the foreground. Professor John Revere had translated Magendie's first book in 1822 and was soon to translate Magendie's new work on Physiology.

It is difficult to see what actual need there was for another medical school on the same lines as the existing schools unless it was the proposed connection with the University. There was no more opportunity for clinical instruction then in prospect than the rival school possessed and no increase in other facilities.

The didactic lecture was the keynote of the curriculum—plenty of dogma and the theory of practice. In the course of an introductory lecture at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Professor Hosack in covering the whole course of study recommended to the students the perusal of no less than one hundred and forty books, fifteen of them on physics, and said:

In addition to books, therefore, let me recommend to you a punctual and constant attention to this source of practical knowledge [i.e., the sick-room]. In the New York Hospital you have an ample opportunity of becoming acquainted with a great variety of diseases. . . . Make frequent visits to the sick, record their age, their sex, their occupation, their temperament, their general external appearances: patiently listen to the history of their complaints: trace their commencement, their progress and the changes they have undergone previous to their admission into the hospital, as well as their conditions at the time of your visit; inquire into the state of their various functions as influenced by the disease; remark the season of the year, the prevailing diseases, and the state of the weather.

This was in 1801, but there is every likelihood that things were still about the same in 1841. The students of the University Medical College did not have the same entrée to the "sick-room"; they "are admitted to the wards of the New York Hospital on the payment of a fee of six dollars with all the privileges which such attendance bestows between the hours of 12 and 1," and they had to go down from Bond to Duane Street to seek these privileges. The first announcement reports that the faculty had just established

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a "Surgical Clinique which will open a field . . . more extensive than any in this country." So late as the annual announcement of 1858, seventeen years later, it was declared that "the dispensaries of the city afford a wide field for practical observation where auscultation, percussion, etc., may be practised to any extent."

In 1847, eleven years before this was written, a change was brought about in the city affairs which proved to be of great importance in the cause of medical education in New York. This was the reorganization of the Almshouse Department and the opening up of Bellevue Hospital to clinical instruction. The committee of ten prominent medical men of the city which was put in charge of the investigation of the department included members of the faculties of both colleges; and, when the visiting board was inaugurated in November of that year, both schools were represented in its composition. This was a long step forward, and one which began a new era for Bellevue Hospital.

Another great advance came in 1854 when the State Legislature passed what was called the Dissection or the Anatomical Bill, abolishing the stringent law against dissection of the human body. The bill was entitled: "An Act to promote Medical Science"; it was finally put through by a close vote. The fight for this bill had extended over several years and had been made by medical men throughout the State, by resolutions of county societies and colleges, and by personal visits to Albany. No one, however, worked harder or more persistently in this fight than Professor Martyn Paine of the University Medical College; he spent three full months at the capital, and great credit belongs to him.

The medical faculty from 1841 to 1847 was as follows: Valentine Mott, M.D. Columbia Medical Faculty, 1806, Principles and Operations of Surgery with Surgical and Pathological Anatomy; Granville Sharp Pattison, M.D.

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Glasgow, 1812, General, Descriptive, and Surgical Anatomy; John Revere, A.B. 1807, A.M. 1812, Harvard, M.D. Edinburgh, 1811, Theory and Practice of Medicine; Martyn Paine, A.B. 1813, A.M., M.D. Harvard, 1816, Institutes of Medicine and Materia Medica; Gunning S. Bedford, A.M. Mt. St. Mary's College, 1825, M.D. Rutgers, 1830, Midwifery and Diseases of Women and Children; John W. Draper, M.D. University of Pennsylvania, 1836, Chemistry.

The requirements for the diploma in 1841 were: attendance on two courses of lectures, one of which must be at this college, three years' study under a preceptor, including the lecture terms; a medical thesis written either in English, Latin, or French. The examinations, which began on March 1 and continued until all the candidates had been examined, were both oral and written.

The first class was graduated in 1842 and numbered fifty-one students. The most notable member was William Darling who became professor of Anatomy at his alma mater in 1866. Another was John Busteed who became professor in the New York College of Veterinary Surgeons and an honorary member of the National Academy of France. John R. Dickson, afterward professor of Surgery in the Royal College of Physicians at Kingston, Ontario, was still another.

Books were indispensable, but what books these students were to read the Announcement does not tell. It is safe to say that they read Professor Revere's translation of Magendie (1843), which is a creditable book, and that they purchased Professor Paine's *Institutes of Medicine* when it was published in 1847, which is a desert of words. There is, however, an oasis in this book—a long footnote to page 78 which is of interest because he tells there as an eye-witness of one of Dr. Mott's notable operations, the excision of half of the lower jaw, done in 1822; and he describes

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the marvelous fortitude shown by the patient, a young man named Baker. The book as a whole is an analytical discourse on the Philosophy of Medicine; it went to a ninth edition, however. Before this, Dr. Paine had issued his *Medical and Physiological Commentaries* in three volumes.

Several excellent books were written by members of the faculty during this decade and the next. Limiting the list to writings on medical subjects, these may be mentioned: Samuel H. Dickson's *Elements of Medicine*, 1855; Meredith Clymer's *Fevers, Their Diagnosis, Pathology and Treatment* (he edited Aitkins's *Practice* also); and Elisha Bartlett's *The History, Diagnosis, and Treatment of the Fevers of the United States*.

Little space can be given to the changes in the faculties at various periods, as this is a history of the College and not of the men. Although in the annual announcements it was called the Medical Department of the University of New York, the College was always spoken of as the University Medical College, and it was in fact a proprietary school like the College of Physicians and Surgeons.

The first significant change in the faculty was the alignment of Physiology with Chemistry under the charge of Dr. John W. Draper in 1850. In the rival school, Physiology and Microscopic Anatomy were joined under Professor Dalton in 1854. Pathological Anatomy was established at the University in 1852; at the College of Physicians and Surgeons this had been placed in the same chair with Practical Medicine in 1847. The first professor of Pathology and Microscopy at Yale was appointed in 1867, and Physiology was first honored by a chair all to itself at Yale in 1879. The fundamental importance in medical education of instruction and laboratory work in the natural and physical sciences was first recognized in this country by the Sheffield Scientific School in 1870, according to Professor Welch.

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Despite extravagant claims made in the annual announcements as to the great opportunities for clinical study in "this great metropolitan city," it was quite well recognized that the most serious defect in the teaching of the schools was just this lack of ways and means of combining theory with practice. The radical change in the administration of Bellevue Hospital opened a wide field for bedside instruction which the visiting board of the hospital soon cultivated; they gave public clinics and conducted private classes.

In 1851 the New York Medical College was organized. This institution was on Thirteenth Street between Third and Fourth Avenues. The faculty was made up of capable men: Horace Green for Theory and Practice of Medicine; Fordyce Barker, from Bowdoin, for Midwifery and Diseases of Women and Children; R. Ogden Doremus, a graduate of New York University, for Chemistry; John M. Carnochan, of the staff at the Emigrant's Hospital for Surgery; E. R. Peaslee for Physiology, Pathology, and Microscopy; Joel Parker for Medical Jurisprudence. What is especially noteworthy, a chair of Dental Pathology and Dental Surgery, the first in the city, was included; this was held by C. C. Allen, M.D., D.D.S. The faculty was bold enough to extend the course of study to five months and to increase the number of lectures to nine. Clinical work was given at the Emigrant's Hospital on Ward's Island and at the Charity Hospital on Blackwell's Island; the school was sometimes called the New York Medical College and Charity Hospital. The prospectus says that it has procured from Europe a costly museum of external and internal pathology, and that the faculty has arranged for an amount of clinical and hospital instruction which cannot be obtained in any other city in the Union. It was a notable college and attracted students from other schools, some for postgraduate experience. The college ceased to exist in 1864; the Bellevue Hospital

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Medical College added the museums to their equipment.

Of the Bellevue Hospital Medical College, Bellevue Hospital is the alma mater. It was founded by the Medical Board of the hospital, acting on the suggestion of the Board of Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction. On December 31, 1860, it was resolved that "we as a Medical Board agree to lecture according to the plan proposed by the Commissioners." The annual report of the Medical Board for the year 1860 says: "As in former years, this hospital still continues to be a resort for medical students, and in increased numbers; . . . upwards of three hundred have taken out tickets during the past winter, and not infrequently the entire number are in attendance." In March, 1861, eleven members of the Board agreed to connect themselves with the proposed college; they were: Doctors Isaac E. Taylor, James R. Wood, Frank Hamilton, Lewis A. Sayre, Alexander B. Mott (son of Valentine Mott), Stephen Smith, Fordyce Barker, George T. Elliot, Benjamin W. McCready, John W. S. Gouley, and Alfred L. Loomis.⁶

The College was incorporated in April, 1861. The commissioners gave permission to erect a building within the hospital enclosure, and the College was opened on October 18.

The first faculty comprised thirteen chairs; that of Principles and Practice of Medicine was filled by Austin Flint; five chairs were allotted to surgical subjects, including Orthopaedic Surgery, Wood, Hamilton, Sayre, Mott, and Stephen Smith; Obstetrics, three chairs, Taylor, Elliot, and Barker; Materia Medica and Therapeutics, McCready; Anatomy, Gouley;⁷ Physiology and Microscopic Anatomy, Austin Flint, Jr.; Chemistry and Toxicology, R. Ogden

⁶ Dr. Loomis withdrew before the college opened, and in 1867 he was elected to the chair of Theory and Practice of Medicine in the University Medical Department.

⁷ Dr. Gouley resigned in order to remain in the army during the duration of the war; Timothy Childs took his place.

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Doremus. This was the first faculty to establish a chair for Orthopaedic Surgery on this side of the ocean; it was held by Lewis A. Sayre.

In 1862, the building having been found to be too small, the faculty proposed to raise money by subscription to buy a plot on Twenty-Sixth Street opposite the entrance to the hospital. The Commissioners, however, did not wish the College to go outside the hospital grounds and proposed to erect a new building and lease it to the College; this proposal was accepted. The faculty thereupon presented a plan of an organization of a bureau of medical and surgical relief for outdoor poor, and in the winter of 1865-66 the Commissioners erected a building to serve both the College and the outdoor bureau. The plan of the College, as stated in the first annual announcement, "is to combine, to the fullest extent, thorough didactic with demonstrative teaching. This is to be done by establishing medical schools in connection with large hospitals. Some of the most distinguished of the European schools are thus connected, and this plan has recently been adopted in this country, but in no other instance on a scale so extensive as by the union of a Medical College with the Bellevue Hospital. . . . There will be no encroachments of didactic and clinical instruction upon each other, but, on the contrary, arrangements will be made to secure to each its appropriate relative claims."

Here for the first time in this city a union was established between hospital, dispensary, and medical school—as close a union as could be wished for and one unequalled in New York. But the one other thing missing, affiliation with a university, was not to come for nearly forty years. The union that had been achieved in 1860 between the College of Physicians and Surgeons and Columbia College was not based on educational grounds at all; it was effected in order to relieve the Medical School of charter restrictions and rules which did not affect the other medical schools whose

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charters, being of later date, did not contain them, and because Columbia's charter permitted it to have a medical department, a right it had not exercised for many years.

By the establishment of the Bellevue Hospital Medical College, medical education, especially from a clinical point of view, received a much-needed stimulus, and both hospital and College soon had a reputation widespread throughout the United States. The School became a strong and active competitor of the other colleges both in New York and in the country.

In 1866 important additions to the faculty were the appointment to a new chair, that of Ophthalmology, of Dr. Henry D. Noyes, and in the next year the appointment to a chair of Dermatology of Dr. Foster Swift; Dr. William A. Hammond was made professor of Diseases of the Mind and Nervous System. In that year a summer session was established, though this was optional for the students to attend; it was conducted by some of the members of the regular faculty and by lecturers on special branches.

In 1871 the school suffered a great loss by the death of Professor Elliot. This vacancy was filled by the election of Dr. William Thompson Lusk, an alumnus of the class of 1864; he was at this time professor of Physiology at the Long Island Hospital Medical College and also a lecturer on that subject at Harvard. His name and fame as a professor of Obstetrics brought great renown to the college in later years. Another whose name adds lustre to Bellevue was Dr. Edward G. Janeway, who joined the faculty in 1872 as professor of Pathological and Practical Anatomy; he had resigned the University Medical College lectureship, which he had held for one year previously. Dr. Janeway was curator to Bellevue Hospital from 1866 to 1892; he was elected president of the faculty when the Bellevue Hospital College amalgamated with New York University in 1898.

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Pathology held the position of first importance in medical interest and investigation at this period and this interest has special point because, in 1879, it brought to the teaching corps Professor William H. Welch. Since completing his internship at Bellevue Hospital early in 1876, Dr. Welch had been in Germany working in pathology, and he came home filled with the desire to obtain and build up a laboratory for pathological research. He went first to his alma mater in medicine, the College of Physicians and Surgeons; but finding no encouragement there, he next applied to the Bellevue faculty and was cordially received. A small room was found and equipped for him. He was professor of Pathological Anatomy from 1879 to 1884.

The Carnegie Laboratory was built in 1884, the pioneer in this country for instruction and research in pathology and bacteriology. The new discoveries in bacteriology and the great benefit to public health from their application prompted Andrew Carnegie to make this gift to the College; he was also influenced by his friendship for Dr. Frederic S. Dennis, who was professor of Surgery. Dr. Dennis and Dr. Janeway were appointed trustees. The names of Edward K. Dunham and Hermann M. Biggs are written indelibly in this laboratory. The interior of the old college building on the hospital grounds was badly damaged by fire in 1897, and the School was removed to one of the present buildings in the fall of that year.

When the University Medical College began its career in 1841, it bought the Stuyvesant Institute on Broadway at Bond Street close to the University building on Washington Square. The College remained here until 1851. It then built a suitable building on Fourteenth Street near Irving Place. In 1866 this building was totally destroyed by fire, with the loss of all equipment belonging to Professor Draper, his manuscripts, and much material belonging to other members of the faculty. The College had no place

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to go, but a generous offer of rooms came from the New York Hospital, which the faculty gladly accepted, and sessions were held there for several years. In 1873 the College came up to Twenty-Sixth Street, and three years afterward the faculty had completed a new building there, which it occupied until the union with the Bellevue College in 1898.

Medical education made another advance in the State of New York when, in 1891, the Board of Regents raised the standard of medical schools by requiring matriculation examinations and an extension of the course of study to a period of three years. The Bellevue Hospital faculty, alone of the colleges in the State, had made a tentative trial of this some years before; but after one session there was so great a falling-off in the number of students that they were reluctantly compelled to recede from this position. Now, all colleges being placed on an even footing, this faculty welcomed the change. It was a hardship for the University Medical College, however, because this school was already in financial difficulty, and it had not been able to maintain the high standard that it had formerly held or that was expected of it from the character and professional ability of the individual members of its faculty.

Professor Loomis, a firm friend and a liberal supporter of New York University, was enabled to bring to the Medical Department a large gift of money and with it the offer to build a laboratory which was to be called the Loomis Laboratory. The donor insisted on this name, and provided also that the title to the building should not pass out of his control, and further, that Professor Loomis's son should be made professor of Pathology and the director of the laboratory. This proposal was accepted by the medical faculty notwithstanding still other provisos, namely, that a certain member of that faculty should be forced to resign his chair, and that the Council of New York University should not

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have any effective part in the control. In other words, the slight connection that still obtained between the Medical Department and the University was to be made even more tenuous. Such bitter quarrels and dissensions followed within the faculty that one would have to go back seventy years in local medical history to find the like. Professor Loomis fell sick with pneumonia and died on January 23, 1895. Matters grew steadily worse within the faculty; finally when no compromise seemed possible, the Council, knowing the strong desire of the Bellevue Hospital Medical College for university affiliation, entered upon negotiations with that faculty.

The member of the Council who took the most effective part in this matter was Dr. John Pixley Munn. Dr. Munn was a graduate in the class of 1876 of the Bellevue College, and it was due to his tact and loyalty to both parties to the conferences that the union of this College with the University came to pass.

At the time of the consolidation, the Bellevue faculty transferred to the University all its equipment and buildings, namely, the new building just completed on the corner of First Avenue, and the Carnegie Laboratory directly connected with it on Twenty-Sixth Street.

The great majority of the new faculty were former members of the Bellevue College faculty; Dr. Janeway became the dean and professor of Medicine. He gave clinical, not didactic, lectures; the latter were delivered by A. Alexander Smith, professor of the Principles and Practice of Medicine. Joseph D. Bryant was professor of the Principles and Practice of Surgery. Hermann M. Biggs was the secretary and professor of Therapeutics and Clinical Medicine, and Egbert LeFevre of the University faculty was corresponding secretary, professor of Clinical Medicine, and associate professor of Therapeutics. Professor Graham Lusk joined the faculty and held the chair of Physiology;

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the professor of Pathology was Edward K. Dunham from the same chair in the Bellevue school. The roster well illustrates the immense change that had taken place in medical science and education in a quarter century. One striking example is the professorship of Pathological Chemistry; this was inaugurated by Dr. Christian A. Herter; he occupied the chair until 1903, when the state of his health forced him to resign. A series of annual lectures, four or five in number, instituted and endowed by Professor Herter, has become a standing feature of the winter session, bringing the students into contact with men eminent for work in Experimental Medicine.

Another outstanding name was that of Egbert LeFevre, who succeeded Professor Janeway as dean. He rendered great service to the College and medical education by his expertness in dealing with students and his attractive personal qualities; his death in 1914 at the early age of fifty-five was a severe loss to the College. The Council of the University established a scholarship in his name, open to members of the senior class of Rutgers College, Dr. LeFevre's alma mater. The Egbert LeFevre Memorial Library of the Medical School commemorates his services.

The union of these two schools, long rivals, into one institution was a great step forward in the cause of medical education. The important discoveries and advances in Medical Science, Chemistry, Physiology, Biology, and Bacteriology have achieved a great transformation. The development of scientific apparatus, such as X-ray and electrocardial mechanisms, has brought radical changes in the curriculum—new and larger laboratories, full-time teachers, and more work by the students.

Fifty years ago the course of study extended over two terms of four months each, the lectures in one year being repeated in the next. Now the curriculum is a graded one and the term extends from the middle of September to the

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end of May, the course of study requiring four years to complete. Standards for entrance have been raised, an academic degree is essentially required, and the applicant must show personal fitness to enter the medical profession.

Clinical instruction has always been a distinctive feature of the courses in this College. It begins in a rudimentary way in the second year and continues in the third year. The fourth year is wholly devoted to it. It is the plan of the faculty to educate chiefly students well-fitted to be practitioners of Medicine, and to encourage those who show special talent for research. There is a tendency sometimes to put too much stress on laboratory technique, and students come to rely on this instead of on clinical observation; this is counteracted in hospital and dispensary instruction. On the other hand, the curriculum was overloaded, a few years ago, by too much instruction in the various specialties; now this has been simplified and elementary training in these branches is confined to the third-year course.

How well the students of the University and Bellevue Hospital Medical College are qualified as general practitioners is shown by reports of the New York State Board of Regents for the years 1927 to 1930 inclusive. The total number examined was 1,783 from all the colleges in the State; of these 56 failed to pass. New York University sent 398, nearly one-quarter of the whole number, and of these only two failed to pass.

It is not altogether the student's scholastic ability that matters but, much more than this, his worth afterward as a member of the community and his loyalty to his alma mater. All alumni of the University and this College take pride in being enrolled with such men as Walter Reed, Gorgas, and Goldberger. The history of the Medical Department is in reality the story of the men who built it and of those who maintain it.

CHAPTER XIII

THE COLLEGE OF ENGINEERING

AS New York University was founded with the ideal of broadening educational opportunities, it was natural that the earliest plans included instruction in Engineering—or what was then known as Civil or Civilian Engineering in contrast with Military Engineering. In fact the Founders specifically stated their intention to offer courses for civil engineers, architects, and mechanics. The need for engineers had been demonstrated by the costly mistakes made in the construction and operation of the system of canals that had revolutionized the nation's transportation; it was more emphatically demonstrated in the great railroad era then getting under way, which was to transform the country so dramatically. Many other serious engineering problems awaited solution: the securing of satisfactory water supplies for cities; the bridging of rivers and ravines; the development of harbors; the design and invention of labor-saving machinery; and the general application of science to the countless needs of mankind in a country where new industries were to arise to an extent never before realized.

At the time of the founding of the University, the chief instruction available in the country for students of Engineering was at the Military Academy at West Point and at the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute at Troy. The latter institution in 1835 conferred the first degree in Civil Engineering in any English-speaking country. It was not, however, until after the Civil War that engineering education became widely recognized in a country that needed

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it sorely. The unsatisfactory condition of higher education in America during the early part of the nineteenth century is indicated by an argument advanced in 1830 in favor of founding New York University: "Why is it," said a letter to a New York newspaper, "that in a city with a population of 200,000 souls, not more than from twenty-five to thirty lads, on an average, are educated at Columbia College in a year?" Another argument was that "Columbia with its venerable halls and learned professors has pined away until it is no better than a respectable Academy." There was need for democratic and practical education in New York, which had recently become the nation's largest city and was certainly the most cosmopolitan and least hidebound of American communities.

When instruction first opened in the new University in 1832, a distinguished engineer was on the faculty, Major David Bates Douglass, professor of Natural Philosophy, Architecture, and Civil Engineering. His salary was set at \$1,500. Douglass had been graduated at Yale in 1813, and had served with merit in the War of 1812. Until 1831 he was a professor at West Point, and he was well known as chief engineer of the Morris Canal in New Jersey, where he built an inclined plane over a thousand feet long to serve instead of a lock in transferring canal-boats to a different level. Later, from 1841 to 1845, he was to act as president of Kenyon College in Ohio. Another creditable achievement was his service for the government in determining the United States boundary from Niagara to Detroit.

During the first academic year of the University, 1832-33, Professor Douglass taught Natural Philosophy (or Physics as it is now called) and assisted in the design of the building at Washington Square. The records show that he attended faculty meetings and reported that his students were not so advanced in scientific outlook as the boys at West Point. At the end of the academic year he retired

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from active teaching in order to give more attention to his engineering practice, but his name was retained on the list of professors published in the catalogues until he went to Kenyon College in 1841. Probably if enough students in Engineering had come forward, he would have given the necessary time for their instruction, as his engineering practice permitted. In fact, during 1836-37 he delivered a series of lectures at the University in his capacity as "professor of Civil Engineering and Architecture." From 1833 to 1836 Douglass was busy at important work for the City of New York, which was seeking an adequate water-supply. In this work he planned the establishment of the Croton water-system and outlined the engineering work necessary for bringing the water to the city by the Croton aqueduct and High Bridge—old landmarks at University Heights. He died in 1849 at Geneva, New York, where he was then professor of Mathematics in Hobart College. In his time the University was not yet able to support a department of Engineering, although it showed its good intentions and set a high standard in choosing Douglass as its first professor of Engineering.

Although, like most other American universities of that early period, New York University was not able to organize a successful department of Engineering, an unofficial engineering triumph was achieved within its walls of which there is every reason to be proud. This, of course, was the invention of the recording telegraph by Samuel Finley Breese Morse during the late eighteen thirties. In 1832 when Morse joined the faculty as professor of Fine Arts, he was forty-one years old and a discouraged portrait-painter, who had found America unable to appreciate art. As was customary in those days for a professor not of the "governing faculty," Morse—like Douglass—received no regular salary but was paid fees directly by the students who elected his courses. Probably Morse paid the University

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more than he ever received in fees, for he rented a studio and living quarters in the new building—and complained vehemently of the leaky roof, as a letter to the Chancellor proves. The few students who took lessons in Art from him were sometimes backward in paying their fees, and Morse almost starved in those dark days before the success of his invention. It is said that the janitor of the building spoke disparagingly to visitors about the eccentric professor whose rooms were full of wire and dusty apparatus.

Before Morse joined the faculty, he had grasped the idea of an electric telegraph and had made some attempts to devise one, but the most important work upon his invention was done in the University building in collaboration with other members of the University. So significant was the assistance rendered him by Alfred Vail, a University student and alumnus, that the dot-and-dash code and the instrument for recording it may have been chiefly the work of Vail rather than of Morse. Professor John W. Draper, an accomplished scientist, contributed generously in helping to demonstrate that, although an electric current may lose a tenth of its force in the first thousand feet of wire traversed, it will not continue to lose a tenth for each successive thousand feet thereafter, and in fact will bear up fairly well after the initial loss. Leonardo D. Gale, professor of Geology and Chemistry, also helped materially in the experiments, as he was familiar with Joseph Henry's demonstrations in electromagnetism.

Morse by training and taste was not a scientist; this essential knowledge was supplied by other members of the University and indirectly by the great American scientist, Henry. Vail likewise supplied financial and mechanical help, as his father operated iron works in New Jersey. Morse deserves the credit for persevering tenaciously during the discouraging years when people ridiculed him as a broken-down artist who was trying to send messages by

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lightning—the same people who afterward cheered him loudly when his coat-front was covered with medals and decorations. The work of Morse and John W. Draper in developing photography in the University building should also be mentioned, because of its inspiring demonstration of the application of science to the needs of mankind. Incidentally, about fifty years after Draper's death, a former student of his, William H. Nichols, gave the University several million dollars; he had been inspired by Draper's teachings in science and history. Some of these early professors were men of marked personality and charm.

During the 1840's and early 1850's, engineering education was at a low ebb in New York University. Some of the fundamental sciences were taught, and Surveying, which was included in the instruction in Mathematics, was "taught in the field with the use of all the instruments." There was also some instruction in Mechanical Drawing, but there was no professor of Engineering.

In 1853, an alumnus of the class of 1839, Richard Harrison Bull, A.M., who had been connected with the University Grammar School, was engaged to teach Mathematics, and it was decided to revive the engineering work by making him professor of Civil Engineering in addition to his teaching of Mathematics to the Arts students. The University catalogue dated June, 1854, announced under "Additional Scientific Departments" a School of Civil Engineering and Architecture, with the Engineering in charge of Professor Bull and the Architecture in charge of Professor Thomas S. Cummings, M.A., who was associated with Professor Morse in the University's School of Design.

The announcement stated pretentiously that "The Course in this Department comprehends Geometrical Drawing, the use of Instruments and Problems in Graphical Calculations; Land Surveying and Levelling, with the use of instruments, and field operations; Descriptive Geometry; Astronomical

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Observations and Calculations for determining Latitude, Longitude, etc.; Geodesy, Marine Surveys, and Field Topography; Linear Drawing, with Coloring and Shading, as applied to Engineering and Architecture; Science of Masonry and Carpentry, of Machinery and the Founder's Art; Construction of Machines, Mill-work, Steam-engine Locomotives, etc.; Principles of Architecture, with the elements of Design, Construction, and Estimates; Construction of Bridges, etc.; Construction of Railroads, location, curves, cutting, filling, laying track, etc.; Railroad Management; Construction of Canals and Aqueducts, Water-Works, Sewers, Drains, etc."

For a first attempt by a professor who was not an engineer, this announcement followed the Scottish principle of not overlooking any bets; it seemed to include a good deal of "etc." Bull had taken the Arts course in the University and had prepared himself for the ministry at Union Theological Seminary. His real interest lay in mathematical hobbies and in showing that mathematics is a revelation of God's laws. In addition to his professorial work, he served for many years as secretary and later as president of the New York Savings Bank, where he successfully applied his mathematical calculations. Another outside activity was his furnishing of exact astronomical time to the local railroads from observations on the stars made both at his Gramercy Park residence and his country house at New Hamburg. At Gramercy Park, Professor Bull was a neighbor of the venerated Peter Cooper and of Cyrus W. Field, who laid the first Atlantic cable. He was an active Sunday-School worker, and for several years preceding his death represented the First Presbyterian Church of New York in the Presbytery. At his death in 1892 he was the oldest living alumnus of the University. Professor Daniel W. Hering, who talked with Professor Bull in 1885 when the latter retired from active teaching, reported that he was an im-

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posing-looking, white-whiskered old gentleman who was often at odds with Professor Coakley over mathematical hypotheses. It was, perhaps, characteristic of pre-Civil-War times to engage an evangelical minister as a professor of Engineering; and it tended to counteract Professor John W. Draper's disturbing criticisms of conventional theology.

At this time—and for a long period to come—Engineering was the ugly duckling of the University family. The classes in Engineering usually met early in the morning before the regular schedule began or late in the afternoon. Most of the Engineering students carried an extra hour a day more work than the Arts students, who generally attended three lectures a day except on Saturday, when both groups attended the declamations in chapel. The scheme that was worked out for the engineers was based on a three years' course, the preparation for which involved requirements in Mathematics that sometimes necessitated a year of college study in preparation. Most of the Engineering students, however, completed the course in three years by satisfactory preparation in Mathematics at good academies or by extra study at home to pass the entrance examinations.

The Engineering curriculum varied in details from year to year, but remained substantially the same for several decades. As given in the catalogue of 1859, it included, besides Mathematics and Science, such subjects as Christian Evidences, Moral Science and Constitutional Law, Intellectual Philosophy, International Law, Natural Theology, English, German, History, and Political Economy. Among the sciences taught the engineers were Zoölogy, Geology, and Physiology. Professor Hering suggested that the presence in the curriculum of such studies as Natural Theology and Moral Sciences may have been the consequence of Professor Bull's hobbies, "of which there were a good many." Another interesting comment by Professor Hering upon this early period when the catalogue used grandiose words

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to describe its courses and plans was that "no doubt a considerable part of the good intentions regarding Civil Engineering went to the paving of the nether world."

The teaching of "Christian Evidences" was later combined with "Constitutional Law" into a single subject. In the Arts or "collegiate" course, this subject was called "Evidences of Revealed Religion and Constitutional Law." One of the first professorships endowed at the University was that of Evidences of Revealed Religion, which was supposed to receive the income from \$15,000 in mortgages at six percent. There had been fear at first by pious friends of the University that it would become the haven of infidels and atheists. One early criticism of its non-sectarian policy was that "Christianity is studiously avoided."

At first the degree awarded for completion of the scientific course, with a major in either Civil Engineering or Chemistry, was that of bachelor of science. Those students who took short courses in Engineering, sometimes in conjunction with regular studies in the collegiate course or following them, were given a testimonial (or diploma) of proficiency, which stated the special studies that had been completed. The first degree of Civil Engineer was awarded in 1862 to Francisco Gonzales of Mexico. In that early period this degree was given instead of the degree of Bachelor of Science to those students who preferred it; in some cases both it and the science degree were given simultaneously. Charles B. Brush, for example, in 1867 was awarded both degrees after completing three years of the scientific course with the Civil Engineering option; he had entered as a sophomore in 1864 according to the regular procedure for engineering students. Brush later became a distinguished engineer and a professor of Engineering in his alma mater. At the time when Brush was a student, there were usually from half a dozen to a dozen regular students in Engineering.

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Some of the regulations and customs of this early period are interesting. Because of the tendency during the first half of the nineteenth century for students to enter college when very young, the University passed a rule that no one under fourteen years of age should be admitted; in 1867 the School of Engineering specified a minimum of sixteen. Discipline, according to the catalogue, was "conducted upon the principles of paternal government, by kindness and moral influences as far as practicable." A curious rule that must have been difficult to enforce stated that: "No student will be permitted to leave the city during term-time, unless a request to that effect be made by his parent or guardian." Another rule showing the spirit of the times stated that: "Any student who frequents billiard rooms, taverns, or other places of corrupting influence will not be allowed to remain a member of the University."

An interesting regulation specified that: "All instances of absence from chapel and recitation, or tardy attendance upon the same, unless explained by a note from the parent or guardian, or otherwise satisfactorily accounted for to the officiating professor, will be communicated to the parent or guardian." There was a warning in the catalogue against "habitual indolence" on the part of the students; the latter were sometimes officially referred to as "gentlemen." On Saturdays there were public declamations or "forensic exercises" in chapel, at which the students appeared in their academic gowns and "spoke their own compositions" for which they had "written their own pieces." Occasionally an Engineering student managed to get himself excused from these declamations; for example, Charles H. Snow—afterward dean of Engineering—when he was a student in the eighteen-eighties was able to satisfy the authorities that he should not be forced to declaim; like many engineers, he was of retiring disposition. The professor of "Belles-Lettres" had charge of Rhetoric and Declamation.

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Students who commuted in those days of slow transit were graciously favored by a regulation which stated that: "In the case of a full-paying, full-course student, coming from a distance not exceeding twenty miles, one-half the commutation charges by public conveyance will be allowed, during the time of actual attendance." A somewhat condescending attitude was taken toward the "indigent and meritorious youth" who depended upon scholarships. This regulation stated that: "Meritorious and suitably qualified young men—embracing those who aim at high literary cultivation, as well as professional pursuits, whose circumstances require it—may have the benefit of a Scholarship, which exempts from charge for tuition."

In the early days of the University the students obtained good board and room in "respectable private families" near Washington Square for \$2 a week; the "morals and general conduct of such students were under the inspection of the head of the family, who was responsible to the Faculty for the faithful discharge of the trust committed to him." About the middle of the century this rate rose to \$4 a week; after the Civil War it increased to \$6 a week but dropped to \$5 later. Tuition for students in Arts before the Civil War was generally fixed at \$80 a year, with an additional \$10 for fees; later this fee was increased to \$15 with the explanation that it covered light and heat. In the University's preparatory or grammar school there was a fee of \$1 for fuel for the season, and 50 cents (later 75 cents) a quarter for stationery and slate pencils.

Students in the professional schools paid tuition in proportion to the studies taken up, and were generally charged comparatively high rates. Shortly after the Civil War the Engineering students paid \$120 a year (later reduced to \$50), which was less than the \$200 paid by the students specializing in Chemistry. In the early years of the University a professor received a salary of about \$1,500, the

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Chancellor about \$3,000, and a janitor about \$500. The purchasing power of a dollar then was perhaps four times what it became after the World War, eighty years later. Professor Bull's salary came partly from his teaching of Mathematics to the Arts undergraduates.

In the University catalogue published in March, 1865, the customary announcement of the School of Civil Engineering and Architecture was increased by a preamble which suggested that over-specialization in technical studies was already a fault of the profession. This was the ninth regular year for the Engineering School, and nine regular students were enrolled for the Engineering courses, including Charles B. Brush, Asa and Isaac Hendrickson, Nicholas Roosevelt, and Arthur Spielmann. This preamble said:

The object aimed at in arranging the course of instruction in this Department, has been to give the student not only a thorough training in the studies peculiar to the Department, but at the same time to make him a good English scholar, thus meeting a great want in the profession. While thus enlarging the field of studies, we have not been unmindful of the fact, that most young men after they have once entered upon the routine of their profession, become so absorbed in the duties of their office, that they find little time and much less inclination to explore new fields of thought, we have therefore endeavored to make our course in Civil Engineering subjects, so full, as to embrace the elements of each of the many subjects which fall under the attention of the Civil Engineer, combining with it as much of the field practice as the time of the student will allow.

The announcement then went on to say:

In order to accomplish this object satisfactorily, it has been determined after mature reflection, to extend the course through Three Academic Years. A young man, therefore, faithfully spending his time and energies in accomplishing it in this period, will be prepared to enter upon his profession with advantages far superior to most of our present successful Engineers, and will be fully prepared to unite in a subordinate position in any Corps of Engineers, and after a little practice under a competent head, in any one branch of the Department, he will have laid the foundation on which he may build an exalted reputation.

At this time the terms of admission, in addition to the

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customary examination on Professor Loomis's Algebra text and seven books of Loomis's Geometry, required that the student "must have pursued the English Studies necessary for admission to the Sophomore Class." The English studies meant Rhetoric and Grammar, as was specified two years later. Beginning in 1872, the catalogues stated that the degree of Civil Engineer would be given for completing the Engineering Course; previously, either that degree or the degree of "Bachelor in Science," or both, had been granted.

The disturbances caused by the Civil War and the financial panic of 1873 brought serious stresses into the administration of the University. Chancellor Crosby's idealistic and utopian attempt to abolish tuition fees in the Arts College hampered the School of Engineering which, unlike the Medical and Law Schools, was under the control of the faculty of Arts and Science and was served by some of the same faculty. When this policy of free tuition failed, the Chancellor and others talked of abandoning undergraduate instruction and converting the University into a graduate and professional institution, with the School of Engineering left out, along with the Arts College. A brave group in the faculty, including John J. Stevenson, professor of Geology, took over the administration, lived on reduced salaries for several years, and saved the situation. Professor Bull was given a degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1882 and retired in 1885, after thirty-two years of service. His retirement made available \$2,000 a year for a new professor of Physics—Daniel W. Hering, a man of enlightened views, who had a civil-engineering degree from Yale and had worked under Rowland and Remsen at the new Johns Hopkins University.

In 1884 a student named Charles Henry Snow enrolled as a junior in Engineering. He was graduated in 1886 with a degree of Civil Engineer, having seen the last year

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of Professor Bull's teaching and the first year of Professor Hering's. After five years of engineering in the West, Snow joined the faculty in 1891 (as an associate professor of Engineering), and he continued there until he retired as dean in 1930 after thirty-nine years of service. When Snow was a student, the requirements for admission specified examinations in Mathematics (through Trigonometry), Drawing, English, History, and French. The catalogue suggested that the preparation for admission as a first-year Engineering student (who was regularly classified as a sophomore) might be obtained by taking the standard freshman work in the Scientific Division of the University. It was possible, however, to get this preparatory work out of the way at a good academy or by home study, as Snow did; in fact, he worked off the first year of the Engineering Course, as well as the preparatory studies, by a combination of these methods. Snow was lucky in other respects also, for directly after his graduation the tuition fee in Engineering was increased from \$50 to \$100 a year (plus the \$15 for overhead), and the degree of Civil Engineer was made more difficult. Students entering after the 1886 graduation received only a certificate of Engineering with their Bachelor-of-Science degree; an additional year, spent in graduate study or in approved practice with a thesis, was required for the degree of Civil Engineer.

The catalogue published in 1886 contained a new style of announcement for Civil Engineering. Emphasis was placed upon a background or foundation of general education as well as technical learning. Attention was directed to the worth of an engineering training in mental discipline, in the English studies, and in the power of concentration and of generalizing about the relative values of knowledge. Even at that early date the suggestion was made that many students chose the Engineering Course who did not intend to practice Engineering; that is, they valued the training

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in applied science for its general enlightenment and mental discipline.

The curriculum of the Engineering Course during the period when Snow was a student included English Literature, Rhetoric, History, Political Science, Logic, Philosophy, Moral Science (essentially Ethics), Natural Theology (the harmony of science and the Christian religion), German, French, Physiology (illustrated by skeletons), Chemistry, Physics, Geology, Biology, and Botany. The regular Engineering subjects were still largely Civil Engineering but included some Mechanical Engineering. Some of the Engineering at this time was taught by Charles Benjamin Brush, who had been graduated in Engineering in 1867 and had become adjunct professor of Engineering in 1874 (together with his professional partner, Arthur Spielmann, also an alumnus of 1867, who died in 1883).

Brush, who was the University's third professor of Civil Engineering, was a highly successful consulting engineer and had a large income as an authority on water-supply and heavy foundations. For example, he supervised the building of the foundations for the Washington Bridge across the Harlem, and he helped develop the well-known Hackensack Water Company in New Jersey. His teaching was secondary to his private practice; probably he retained his connection with the University because of the prestige it gave him and because of his affection for his alma mater. What small remuneration he received from his professorship came chiefly from the fees paid for his courses. He generously lent surveying instruments to the students, and when his professional duties called him away his classes were taught by young assistants from his office.

Although Brush was made a full professor in 1888, he was overburdened by outside interests and his health was failing, so that he did little teaching after Snow joined the faculty in 1891. He was awarded a degree of Doctor of

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Science by the University in 1895 and was given the title of dean of Engineering, but he died in 1897 before he could do justice to the position. His reputation and wealth brought distinction to the School of Engineering, and he undoubtedly would have improved its status greatly if his health had permitted.

In 1892 a series of changes began which put Engineering instruction in the University on a firmer and better basis. The irregular preparatory work for admission as a first-year Engineering student (who had been classed as a sophomore) was expanded into a regular freshman year to be taken in the University's Scientific Division. This made the Engineering Course a four-year one. The name "School of Civil Engineering" was changed to "School of Engineering"; the word "Architecture" had been dropped from the title in 1872.

For several years, beginning in 1893, Civil Engineering was classed unpretentiously as Group 10 of the University's system of ten divisions of studies offered. Attempts were made to list a separate Engineering faculty, although its administration was still under the general Arts and Science faculty. The break away from the Arts and Science organization came about gradually; Dean Snow described this as a slow process by which a separate faculty of Engineering was "quarried" from the Arts faculty. The most definite break away from the Arts came in April, 1899, when an autonomous faculty for the "School of Applied Science" was recognized, at least in theory. By this time, the Engineering professors were paid by salary, and fees went to the general University treasury—an important change from the old makeshift methods.

When Professor Snow began teaching, there were about twenty students in Engineering. The space allotted for Engineering courses was a small room on the top floor of the old Washington Square building, where teaching was

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interrupted in winter to put more fuel into the old-fashioned stove. Those sitting near the stove were too hot; those at a distance were too cold. Professor Snow taught all the Civil Engineering and some Mechanical Engineering, chiefly from a single textbook. There was practically no laboratory equipment, and the financial condition was precarious.

In the catalogue for the academic year 1892-93, Professor Brush was listed as "director" of the School of Engineering, as he was also in the catalogue for 1893-94 and 1894-95. In the catalogues for 1895-96 and 1896-97, he was listed as "dean" and Professor Snow was listed as "vice dean" and "acting dean." In the catalogue for 1897-98, Brush, who died during 1897, was listed as "professor emeritus," and Snow was listed as dean. Professor Brush had been failing in health for several years before his death and had little active connection with the work in the Engineering School after 1891, so that his title of dean was largely nominal. In fact, Snow was the first dean of an autonomous Engineering faculty.

In April, 1899, the official title of the school was changed to School of Applied Science; in February, 1920, this was changed to College of Engineering. These changes in title meant little, except that a gradual growth was in progress from meagre beginnings to a full-fledged college. It is interesting to note, however, that Professor Hering, whose opinion is important, always preferred the broader term "School of Applied Science."

In the spring of 1891 the tall figure of Chancellor Henry Mitchell MacCracken was seen standing on a sunny hill commanding the Harlem and Hudson rivers, as he declared: "This is the place!" The hill was Battery Hill, near old Fort Number Eight in upper New York City. Part of the University was to be moved from the crowded downtown quarters; and the new Chancellor, as vigorous promoter of the plan, was picking out a likely site. Professor

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Hering has vividly described this dramatic change by which the College of Engineering was given the necessary space for laboratories and expansion. There were several large estates of country gentlemen on what afterward became the Heights campus. The Loring Andrews estate had previously been used as a hospital for cancer and other chronic diseases; the Andrews mansion was now occupied as a residence by Chancellor MacCracken and later became Graduate Hall. The Mali mansion became Charles Butler Hall and was used as a dormitory and then as a Physics building. The Schwab mansion, acquired later, was used as a residence by professors and later by students; the other residence on the Schwab land became the quarters of the Faculty Club and was named Stevenson House after a member of the Engineering faculty.

The actual removal to University Heights was made in 1894 amid much confusion, for the old building at Washington Square was being torn down and quarters on the new campus were inadequate for years to come. The financial depression of 1893, which continued for several years, severely handicapped the brave efforts to transform the University. Great patience and much ingenious adaptability were shown by Professors Snow, Hering, and Stevenson during the difficult years when equipment was scanty and the fees from Engineering students constituted a slight basis for salaries of those three professors. Engineering was still looked upon by the administration as a division of education that did not warrant any great encouragement.

There was as yet no Engineering laboratory. The gift of a large Riehle testing-machine in 1896 by Frank J. Gould, an Engineering student, was an event of importance; this machine was of 200,000 pounds capacity and served for tension and compression tests of structural materials. Collins Pechin Bliss joined the faculty at this time to direct the tests with this new apparatus and to teach Mechanical En-

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gineering. The Gould family, together with their kinsmen the Northrops, were generous friends of the College of Engineering.

Before his death in 1892, the noted financier Jay Gould had assisted the University in its new project at University Heights and he apparently intended additional gifts. This wish was faithfully remembered by his daughter, Helen Miller Gould, in a series of timely benefactions, including the establishment of the Gould Memorial Library, the Hall of Fame, and the Gould dormitory. Her generous gift of \$200,000 for endowment for the College of Engineering in 1898-99 was particularly appreciated. In 1898 the youngest son of Jay Gould, Frank J. Gould, became a member of the Council of the University; and a niece, Alice Northrop, became the wife of Dean Snow.

The new buildings on the campus were not completed without several changes of plan in the lay-out. Professor Hering remarked that for several years rather disconcerting alterations were continually upsetting the academic calm. The original plan for a single quadrangle on an east-west campus was expanded, when additions to the campus were acquired to the south, into several quadrangles or groups of buildings; and the axis of the campus became more nearly north and south.

After the addition of Professor Bliss to the faculty in 1896, there came a definite movement to develop other branches of Engineering in addition to Civil Engineering, and to specialize more intensely than had been the practice previously. Bliss, who became in 1902 the University's first professor of Mechanical Engineering, was the son of the pastor of the Washington Heights Presbyterian Church, had received degrees from Princeton and Columbia, and had valuable connections in industry. Early in 1899, when the faculty separated from the Arts faculty under the name of School of Applied Science, it was decided to establish

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the departments of Mechanical Engineering and Chemical Engineering, and to give degrees in those branches. There were also attempts to develop courses in Industrial Chemistry, and in Marine Engineering and Naval Architecture; but these efforts were not successful, although announcements for them were made in several of the catalogues.

Some of the specialized work that had been delayed until the postgraduate or fifth year of the Engineering curriculum was now shifted to the undergraduate courses. The catalogue for 1899-1900 lists curricula for Mechanical Engineering and Chemical Engineering, as well as Civil Engineering. The first degrees of Bachelor of Science in Mechanical Engineering and in Chemical Engineering were given in 1902. The first degree of Mechanical Engineer was given in 1905; the first degree of Chemical Engineer in 1913.

At the turn of the century the number of Engineering students was still under a hundred. It passed this milestone for the first time in the academic year of 1901-2. This number increased gradually until in the early years of the World War it was over three hundred. At the University's centenary, the number of Engineering students, including the evening classes, is about two thousand.

The catalogues for the first years of the twentieth century contained a number of items that indicate how tenaciously the old conventions were continued, at least in theory. For example, it was a rule that: "Daily attendance at Morning Prayers, or an alternative duty, is required of every student, except seniors enrolled in a University Professional School down town." Still more rigid was the following regulation: "Where a student is absent from College less than five days continuously, even though excused, his absence from Chapel will be charged against him." This meant that a student who was sick for four days received four chapel demerits, just as though he had cut chapel because of laziness.

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ness or boredom. Another paternalistic regulation stated that: "No body of students shall participate in any public game, contest, or entertainment, without previously obtaining the consent of the faculty."

At this time the estimate of a student's yearly expenses, as given in the catalogue, varied from a "low" of \$236 to a "liberal" figure of \$498. Of these amounts, the charge for tuition was \$100 and fees \$23. The "low" estimate for a room for a college year of thirty-six weeks was \$60; the "liberal" figure was \$125. In other words, a student paid from \$1.75 to \$3.50 a week for room-rent. The estimate for board for thirty-six weeks was \$126 (low), and \$180 (liberal). This was at the rate of \$3.50 to \$5 a week.

Among the country's Engineering colleges in the period before the World War, that at New York University ranked moderately well. Its faculty was inadequately paid, but conscientious and industrious. It did not offer such specialized instruction as did some other Engineering colleges which had professors in close touch with advanced industries; but, as events afterward proved, this national trend toward "practical" courses was badly overdone, inasmuch as the student frequently had his nose held so close to the grindstone that he lost all perspective and was unable to adjust himself to the rapidly changing conditions in practice or industry. This was a period of emphasis on detailed technique, but the sad truth was later revealed that an overdose of facts and formulas is a poor preparation for life. Before much of the complicated technique, so laboriously acquired, could be applied by the young graduate in his early experiences, that particular practice was likely to be obsolete.

In 1910, when the dean of Engineering began making annual reports to the Chancellor, Dean Snow reported to Acting Chancellor John H. MacCracken (who filled in between his father's resignation and the appointment of

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Chancellor Elmer E. Brown) that the Engineering income for the year was in round numbers \$53,000; of this, \$31,000 came from students' fees, \$9,000 from the Gould endowment, and \$5,000 from other endowment. In spite of a deficit, this compared encouragingly with a total income of \$3,000 in 1891-92, when Professor Snow joined the faculty, and showed that definite progress had been made. There were over two hundred students in 1910.

During the early years at University Heights, the chief accommodations for Engineering activities were a series of little wooden pavilions or one-story houses that had been used for cancer patients in the old days when part of the campus was a hospital. In 1903 several of these were raised on to a lower story in order to make a two-story, continuous building called the Green Laboratory, from the name of Andrew H. Green, a public-spirited citizen of New York. A friend of the University, Frederick W. Devoe, gave the money for this house-raising. Although this wooden structure was always a fire-trap and became a rather unsightly spectacle, no fire ever seemed to attack it. For many years the thousands of engineering students who bent over their drawing-boards in this rickety building experienced its homely comfort. Another interesting sidelight on student life at the turn of the century was that two large rooms in the basement of the Gould Hall dormitory were set aside for storage of bicycles.

In the catalogue for 1914-15 the Engineering curricula in which instruction was offered—Civil, Mechanical, and Chemical—were increased by a curriculum of studies called "Business and Engineering." The next catalogue called this "Industrial Engineering," and these names were bandied back and forth until 1920 when the latter title was made permanent. The first degrees of Bachelor of Science in Industrial Engineering were granted in 1920, and the first degrees of Industrial Engineer in 1921, although a single

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degree of "Bachelor of Science in Business Engineering" had been granted in 1919. After the War, this division of Engineering brought to the College the system of coöperative instruction, which united campus theory with practice in industry.

Another pre-war development was the reception in February, 1913, of a February-September contingent of freshmen. These students had just been graduated from high school and purposed to save a year by attending college through the summer. They thus became sophomores in September, eight months after graduation from high school. This special accommodation for ambitious students became an annual custom. A generous bequest in 1917 made a number of scholarships available for students in the Heights colleges. This was \$550,000, from Kate Collins Brown in memory of her uncle, Perry McDonough Collins, who began the construction of an overland telegraph to Europe by way of Alaska and Siberia before the Atlantic cable was successful. The College of Engineering received the income from half of this fund.

When the United States declared war in the spring of 1917, the College of Engineering had over three hundred students and was equipped for courses in Civil, Mechanical, Chemical, and Industrial Engineering. It was still severely handicapped by lack of adequate endowment, but heroic efforts had been put forth and fairly good progress had been made. There was still a disposition to look upon the teaching of Engineering as not strictly in the academic and pedagogical tradition, although obviously the nation needed engineers badly—particularly those with sound foundation and generous background. The Engineering instruction offered at New York University was honest and painstaking; the students were above the average in ability and background; and many of the graduates had achieved high distinction and success.

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Dean Snow, who had a summer home in Delaware County, interested school officials up state in sending promising students down to the Heights for a technical education. These lads from the farms and inland villages mix well with the city boys, and this plan has been expanded by Professor Douglas S. Trowbridge and Mr. Theodore A. Distler. Another commendable policy of the Engineering administration has been the consideration shown for students from the Latin-American countries. This was in accord with the award of the University's first Engineering degree to a Mexican student in 1862, and with the fact that some of the earliest students in Engineering had come from Cuba. For many years it was a familiar sight to see Dean Snow active on the campus earnestly assisting some confused boy from the Catskills, or from the territory along the Gould railroads of the Middle West, or from the mountain fastnesses of the Andes. At Dean Snow's retirement in 1930, hundreds of former students recalled with gratitude a kindness from this old-fashioned gentleman, who had himself traveled all over the West as a young man.

In addition to the characteristics of Dean Snow already mentioned, he was intensely patriotic and personally sympathetic with that other great branch of Engineering—Military Engineering. In this respect he was like the first professor of Engineering in New York University, Major David Bates Douglass, who served with distinction as an officer in the War of 1812. The Government could not have had a more loyal coöperator in technical education during the difficult period of the World War.

At the time of the entry of this country into the European catastrophe, the University offered the campus and buildings at the Heights to the government for the training of men for war service. The government promptly accepted the offer, and the system of instruction was altered to emphasize courses applicable to military activities. So sweep-

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ing was the transformation of the Heights campus into a training ground that the usual commencement exercises were not held there, but the degrees were conferred in a shortened ceremony at Washington Square.

In addition to the Student Army Training Corps, which drilled and studied at the Heights, over 1,600 of the so-called Fighting Mechanics were trained there. These detachments began to arrive in April, 1918, and were taught such essential war technique as radio and telegraphy, automobile mechanics, metal- and wood-working, and fundamentals of machine-shop and electrical practice. Adequate instruction for these hundreds of men had to be provided at short notice, as well as sleeping quarters, dining-rooms, and medical service. A thousand hurried and unaccustomed things had to be accomplished by professors whose previous interests had been academic and theoretical.

Dean Snow acted in the difficult capacity of liaison agent between the civilian authorities and the military officials, and was active from early until late each day of that unique period. In April, 1918, he was made Civilian Director of the National Army Training Detachment and of Section B of the Student Army Training Corps (the Fighting Mechanics). When the armistice came in November, 1918, the campus was such a center of activity as few of the older professors could have foreseen when the move from Washington Square was made in 1894.

In 1919, after the clouds of war had rolled by, began a period of definite growth and improvement. In November of that year, ground was officially broken for the first unit of the new group of Engineering buildings. The first building erected was the Sage Laboratory, made possible by a bequest from Mrs. Russell Sage, wife of the well-known financier, from whose estate the University had also received in 1908 the Schwab lands which extended the campus to the south. For the elaborate equipment of this laboratory, the

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necessary machines and apparatus were secured in a number of contributions from industrial corporations by Professors Bliss, Tyler, and Arnold. This building and equipment represent a value of about three-quarters of a million dollars.

The report of Dean Snow for the academic year 1919-1920 mentioned the increase in the tuition fee from \$185 to \$200 (it was later increased to \$350). General University salaries were increased about fifty percent at this time; Dean Snow's report spoke of this increase as an "unsolicited action" by the administration, but Professor Hering (in his illuminating commentaries upon the development of the College of Engineering) found this term "unsolicited" somewhat puzzling, since the faculty had been underpaid for a long time and had frequently spoken of it. Another item of interest in Dean Snow's report was the formation of the Engineering honor society, Iota Alpha, with Professor J. Edmund Woodman of Geology as the first president; the only students eligible for membership were seniors, and personal character counted as well as scholarship. Another new development noted in the Dean's report was the psychological tests by the Personnel Board in selecting desirable students from the increased numbers applying for admission; this ingenious device helped to raise the standard of the student body. At this time Dean Snow called the attention of the Chancellor to the need for the University to own an apartment-house near the campus, where younger members of the faculty could obtain quarters for their families at reasonable rents; this suggestion was followed a few years later when the University purchased a newly built apartment-house at the southeast corner of the campus on University Avenue; the World War had brought decided increases in rents, as in the cost of living in general.

An interesting experiment in coöperative education was undertaken soon after the War in connection with the course in Industrial Engineering. The increasing specialization and

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diversity of Engineering were tending to produce technologists trained to a high degree in minute subdivisions of knowledge. Some of these narrowly educated experts were unable to coöperate properly with business associates and with the public. A type of executive who would be a combination of engineer and business man seemed needed, and efforts were made to train such types. A scheme of coöperative training was outlined in 1921 by which the student supplemented the theory taught on the campus with interspersed periods of practice in industry. The full curriculum for this Engineering degree required five years, of which four were spent on the campus. Several periods, each of four months or longer, were spent in supervised practice, including the summer vacations. The practice in industry was scheduled in shops, factories, or laboratories engaged in work similar to the student's specialty. Two notable leaders in Industrial Engineering, Professors Joseph W. Roe and Charles W. Lytle, were secured to direct this new development.

At first, this system of combined study and practice applied only to the Industrial Engineering students; but it is being expanded, as conditions permit, to give other Engineering students the option of choosing the coöperative method of study. By 1925, an impressive proportion of the four hundred Engineering students chose to study under this coöperative system. These students showed benefits from their practical observations in shops and factories, particularly in a more serious and mature point of view. There were, however, some disadvantages in such a change from the ordinary routine; and, after a few years of encouragement, the proportion of coöperative students declined as Aeronautical Engineering advanced into popularity. The entire problem of how best to make the transition and adjustment from campus theory to industrial practice is an open one, and perhaps will never be completely solved. The

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University is giving this problem careful consideration, aided by coöperation from many alumni and friends.

The trend of specialization in Engineering was demonstrated again in 1924, when Electrical Engineering was separated from Mechanical Engineering and permitted to offer degrees of its own. The new laboratories in the Sage building and the growing popularity of electricity in the nation's life made this development seem advisable. Dr. J. Loring Arnold, who had transferred from Physics to Electrical Engineering as a subdivision of the department of Mechanical Engineering, was made head of this new department. The degree of Electrical Engineer was conferred for the first time in June, 1924, on two graduates who had received a Bachelor-of-Science degree in Mechanical Engineering in previous years although they had really specialized in Electrical Engineering at the time. The degree of Bachelor of Science in Electrical Engineering was conferred for the first time in 1925.

A somewhat startling development was now on its way to fulfillment. As early as 1921, Professor Bliss had become interested in the new science of Aeronautics, and had arranged a series of special lectures in it for senior students. The success of these lectures led to the offering of regular courses in Aeronautical Engineering in 1923, as an option for the Mechanical Engineering students in the junior and senior years. The graduates in Aeronautical Engineering, the first of whom completed the course in 1924, were given the degree of Bachelor of Science in Mechanical Engineering.

By 1925 the efforts of Professor Bliss to secure permanent funds for this new development had interested Harry F. Guggenheim, of the great mining and metallurgical family. In June of that year his father, Daniel Guggenheim, presented half a million dollars to Chancellor Brown for a School of Aeronautics. A new building was erected,

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with a large wind-tunnel and other specialized equipment. This unit was named the Daniel Guggenheim School of Aeronautics, although it functions as a department of the College of Engineering. Professor Alexander Klemin, who had had valuable and varied experience in Aeronautics, was put in charge of the school under the general supervision of Professor Bliss, who became associate dean in 1926 and dean in 1930. The degree of Aeronautical Engineer was conferred for the first time in 1927. The spectacular flight of Charles A. Lindbergh from New York to Paris in the spring of 1927 gave a notable impetus to aviation in America. Registration in the Guggenheim School of Aeronautics went up by leaps and bounds, so that Aeronautics soon became the most popular of the half-dozen curricula open to the Engineering students.

By the time the University was a hundred years old, the number of students in the College of Engineering was about a thousand, in addition to a thousand in the evening Engineering work—a large enrollment for a professional school. Standard courses, with full facilities in instruction and laboratory equipment, were offered in five Engineering curricula: Civil, Mechanical, Electrical, Chemical, and Aeronautical; that in Industrial Engineering had been absorbed by the others. The academic standards had been made increasingly difficult as specialization became more intense; for example, in 1925 the postgraduate practice necessary for an Engineering degree was lengthened from one year to two years, in 1928 it was lengthened to three years, and in 1931 it was lengthened to four years. The College's policy on scholarship is largely due to Professors Charles E. Houghton (now retired) and William R. Bryans.

The Engineering students in New York University have always been of good quality. As compared to university students in general, the boys electing Engineering are

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usually those who are interested in applying science to the needs of mankind. About half of the Engineering students usually come from New York City, and half from up-state and other states and countries. About half of the Engineering students are usually Protestant in religion, about a third Catholic, and a smaller fraction Jewish.

The faculty of New York University's College of Engineering, like similar faculties elsewhere, have usually been men with Engineering degrees who have had experience in practice, rather than scholars with a doctor's degree. Engineering colleges in general do not insist upon a doctor's degree for their faculty, as they believe it to be an artificial restriction, of less value than several years of professional practice or industrial experience. A number of the Engineering faculty at New York University are alumni; but the inbreeding evil, which President Eliot criticized at West Point, has been avoided by a generous proportion of professors from outside—some of them with interesting records in variegated practice. An Engineering faculty living in a metropolitan district, where countless examples of technical skill are on view and where the national Engineering societies hold their principal meetings, has a definite advantage over the faculties of what might be called "small-town colleges." This is a fact not always realized by students and parents.

The intense specialization in progress in engineering-education since 1900 brought many advantages and benefits to such colleges. Like most tendencies in American life, however, it was threatened by the national habit of carrying a commendable development to unreasonable excess. Professor Hering, in his significant commentaries on the College's history, said: "The tendency to ascribe a major importance to a minor division of Engineering was increasing, and how *not* to do it became a serious question."

As early as his report for 1923-24, Dean Snow depre-

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cated over-specialization and advocated emphasis on fundamentals rather than on fads or fashions. He pointed out that the subdivision of Engineering into highly developed specialties was bringing such terms as "excavating engineering, farm engineering, road engineering, paving engineering, explosives engineering, domestic engineering, hotel engineering, cuisine engineering, commercial engineering, economic engineering, income engineering, cost-cutting engineering, catalogue engineering, human engineering, men engineering, teaching engineering, and best of all universal engineering." A year later his report suggested that "the curriculum of the College of Engineering contains too many subjects; that more time should be given to a study of principles which do not change, and less time to a study of applications which do change."

The report of Dean Snow for 1925-26 continued the argument, as follows:

This College of Engineering now gives no less than ten separate degrees, to which the Faculty has asked that another be added. No sooner is instruction provided for some particular application of Engineering than pressure is brought to bear for authority to give a degree acknowledging that application. The situation referred to is not peculiar to our own institution, but exists in practically all of the schools of technology in the United States. . . . The multiplication of degrees and the subject of undergraduate specialization go hand in hand. Specialization is admittedly beneficial in that it induces the candidate to follow some bent which momentarily appeals to him, and by arousing interest stimulates his whole mental process and teaches him how to study. But it is harmful in that the student comes to think that, having given principal attention to some particular group of subjects, he should secure employment in that field and no other. Having been privileged to observe the careers of many who have studied under his supervision, the writer believes that real specialization is influenced by time, circumstance, and adaptability, and that it is not influenced to any great extent by such comparatively slight differences as exist in the curricula of engineering colleges.

In the farewell address that Dean Snow made at the testimonial dinner given him at the Faculty Club in the spring

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of 1930, he expressed similar views about the danger of exalting a temporary success of some minor division of technology, while neglecting the basic principles and training which every Engineering student should receive. A specialized subject, he said, that seems enormously important when everyone is talking about it, frequently proves a few years later not to be important at all, or may be absorbed by some other course in the new groupings that are constantly being made. Dean Snow was an advocate of the great value of an Engineering education for young men with scientific tastes, even though they intend to go into business after graduation rather than to practice Engineering as a profession. Obviously, the most sensible Engineering course suitable for such typical young Americans should not specialize too early and should include enough of the fundamental and cultural studies to be of value to the graduate even though he does not follow rigidly in the exact groove which at first appeared attractive. These liberal views on Engineering-education have been given support by three members of the University Council who were graduated from the College of Engineering, namely, Arthur S. Tuttle, William W. Brush (nephew of Professor Brush), and Arthur S. Draper. Mr. Tuttle and Mr. Brush, successful engineers, were at one time members of the Engineering faculty; Mr. Draper is one of the editors of the *New York Herald Tribune*.

A comparatively recent achievement in the University's Engineering development is significant of the need in the metropolitan district of high-grade technical instruction for both serious adults and younger men who have to earn their living during the day. This is the Evening Engineering work, which has grown in a few years from a small beginning to impressive proportions. There was an early attempt to offer evening courses in 1916, in connection with the Extramural Division under Dean Lough, with Professor Bryans acting as secretary of the Engineering courses.

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Some half-dozen non-credit classes were organized, all except one of which met downtown in the quarters of the Railroad Y. M. C. A. The other class, which was taught by Professor Bliss, met near by in an improvised classroom above the main waiting-room in the Grand Central Terminal. In the fall of 1917 the enterprise was temporarily abandoned because of the War.

After the War there were some preliminary trials by Professors Bryans and Hazen G. Tyler, with coöperation from officials of the Babcock & Wilcox Boiler Company at Bayonne, New Jersey. Finally in February, 1922, the work was established on a permanent basis; and classes were opened at the Wall Street center of the University on Trinity Place. Within a few months the increased registration necessitated removal to the Washington Square center. Later the Engineering courses requiring special equipment were taught at the Heights. Under the painstaking direction of Dr. Tyler, the enrollments grew rapidly, and the rather mature students attracted were enthusiastic at the opportunity to continue studies which for many of them had been interrupted by the War or by the necessity for earning a living during the day.

In the early years of the evening work, many students were admitted who were not seeking degrees. Gradually the serious nature of the instruction and the real ability of the applicants brought a higher proportion of degree-students, until the academic standards equalled those in the regular day-classes. At first, the full curriculum for the degree of Bachelor of Science in the evening Engineering work required eight years. By extending the academic year and simplifying the curriculum, this period was reduced to a minimum of six years. After the untimely death of Dr. Tyler, which was partly due to overwork, Dean Bliss introduced Professor Sampson K. Barrett to the duties of director, and the latter has had the coöperation of several other

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professors of the Heights faculty. The evening work is now well established and has attained a high standard; the experiment begun so haltingly has justified itself.

As a concluding analysis of the development of the College of Engineering, it is perhaps worth while to review the factors which have particularly contributed to the expansion of the Engineering work in the University, from the meagre beginnings in 1831 to the full-fledged College which Professor Hering has seen change "from an ugly duckling into a swan."

First of all, the prestige of Major Douglass, the distinguished engineer who joined the first faculty ever assembled at the University, brought dignity and high standing to such handicapped efforts as were made in those early years. A beginning under a leader with such a reputation in his profession was an inspiration for the future.

As already mentioned, the success of the electric telegraph invented in the University building by Professor Morse, and the notable research by Professor Draper in the development of photography, demonstrated what applied science could achieve if given a little encouragement. The long service of Professor Bull in the period around the Civil War was carried on under such disadvantages that little progress was made, although he kept the tradition alive and lent the weight of his conscientious efforts and pious character to the endeavor. As a bank president and a church elder, he carried an air of assurance and benevolence to the classes that he met. His students long remembered the imposing-looking gentleman with the white whiskers who explained God's secrets as revealed by Mathematics.

Professor Brush, like Professor Douglass, was a man who combined a notable private practice with teaching. If he had had more time and better health, he would undoubtedly have done much for the School of Engineering, for

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which he showed a sincere attachment over a long period. His professional ability and reputable character helped to convince the University authorities that instruction in Engineering should continue to be offered.

From 1885 to 1916 the University was fortunate in having on its faculty a civil engineer who taught Physics to both Arts and Engineering students, besides serving for a number of years as dean of the Graduate School. This was Daniel W. Hering, who upheld the tradition that a man of science may be also a man of parts and a cultured gentleman. After Professor Hering's retirement from active teaching, he continued to live near the University and to participate in the many phases of university activity that interested him. His book *Foibles and Fallacies of Science* had a wide influence; and he has been a familiar and beloved figure on the campus or in the halls of the University for nearly half a century. Like the department of Physics, the departments of Mathematics and English have made valuable contributions to the progress of the College of Engineering, although no divisions of engineering are named for them.

The name which will always be most prominently associated with the development of the College of Engineering is that of Charles Henry Snow. For nearly forty years he devoted all his efforts to this difficult and at times disheartening task. When he joined the faculty in 1891, the school was not much farther along than it had been before the Civil War. At his retirement in 1930, the College had a student body and a faculty that ranked well with those of other Engineering colleges, and it had balanced its budget, although more endowment is needed. Best of all, hundreds of graduates who had been given a sound training in applied science had achieved success and satisfaction in life.

A definite landmark in the history of the College was the gift of \$200,000 for endowment by Miss Helen Gould

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(Mrs. Finley J. Shepard) in 1898-99. Nothing is more inspiring to a hard-working and underpaid faculty than such a godsend at a time when appreciation seems slow in coming. The bequest of over half a million dollars for the Perry McDonough Collins scholarships in 1917 furnished assurance of deserving students for Engineering. At about the same date, the land and money from the Russell Sage estate made possible, for the first time, an Engineering laboratory of which the University can well be proud. Then Daniel Guggenheim decided to entrust the College with half a million dollars gained "from mining beneath the earth to improve the means of flying above the earth." The gifts to the University of several million dollars from Dr. William H. Nichols, a former student of John W. Draper's, also helped indirectly the College of Engineering. Such a generous return from a single grateful graduate demonstrated that the inspiration and help which a teacher gives to an individual student are sometimes not forgotten.

No attempt has been made to acknowledge credit to all the members of the faculty and administrative staff who have contributed loyally and skillfully to the upbuilding of the College of Engineering. Still more impossible would be a list of the graduates in Engineering who have distinguished themselves in the world and thus brought credit and pride to their alma mater. Such personal records and bonds of respect, however, are always present in the thoughts of all who have to do with development of a College. It has been unnecessary to mention more than a few outstanding professors and benefactors who have woven their efforts and deeds into the far-reaching institution that is called the College of Engineering of New York University. Every person who has contributed a share, whether large or small, can be assured that a permanent institution such as this never forgets; it is grateful and sends its thanks!

It is perhaps fitting, when referring to the relation of a

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College to its members, to recall what was printed in the *New York University Alumnus* at the time when Dean Snow retired. "How many former students," it was asked, "scattered over the world remember with gratitude a helpful service or a cheering word from this adviser of their youth? How many have felt, toward some professor or other, like the freshman from the little village in Missouri who said that he had 'been helped by a kind-hearted man wearing an old-fashioned collar'—meaning Dean Snow himself, who often gave a hand to some bewildered boy before the latter knew who the good Samaritan was?" Such is the basis of many a bond of affection between a former student and the institution where he spent the impressionable years of his youth. This is one of the chief reasons for a college like ours—a comparatively small and homogeneous association of students and teachers at the edge of a great city; a college with integrity, loyalty, and ideals.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

THE School of Pedagogy was established by vote of the University Council in March, 1890. It is a matter of interest that this school was not entirely a new project, but an effort to carry into effect a provision in the original plan of the University, which had been adopted in 1831. This plan called for a professorship of the "Philosophy of Education and the Instruction of Teachers, with Special Reference to Teachers of Common Schools." This far-sighted policy on the part of the founders of the University antedates by several years the great reform movement of Horace Mann, and by eight years the establishment of the first state normal school in this country at Lexington, Massachusetts.

The School of Pedagogy was the first school of its kind, in distinction from professorships of Education, established as a part of an American university. The school was established as of equal rank with the Law School and the Medical School of the University. Dr. Jerome Allen, a graduate of Amherst College and a former president of the state normal school in Minnesota, was elected dean. He served until his death in 1894 and was followed as dean by Dr. Edward R. Shaw, who had previously been a lecturer in the School.

There were at this time four full professors constituting the faculty. Their four departments were: Institutes of Education, History of Education and Ethics, Experimental and Physiological Psychology, and Descriptive Psychology. Besides these there were three lecturers, respectively, on "Comparative Study of National School Systems," "Soci-

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ology in Relation to Education," and "Physiological Pedagogics."

Among the earliest professors, in addition to Dr. Allen, were Dr. Edward R. Shaw, who taught the History of Education, Dr. Edgar Dubs Shimer, who taught Psychology, and was later a district superintendent and associate superintendent in the public school system of New York, Dr. Langdon S. Thompson, who gave courses on Art, and Dr. Nicholas M. Butler, now president of Columbia University. Later, the faculty was expanded by the addition of Professor Charles H. Judd, now of Chicago University, Professor Edward F. Buchner, later of Johns Hopkins University, and Professor Samuel Weir, who later became a member of the faculty of the College of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Washington.

The number of matriculated students for the years from 1893 to 1901 was, respectively, as follows: 88, 81, 74, 122, 182, 338, 224, and 206. The large enrollment of 338 was due to a rule of the New York City School Board requiring teachers to attend lectures as a condition of promotion; a rule vetoed later by the State Education Department.

In 1900 differences of opinion arose in the faculty as to policies and methods of administration, which led to actual dissension. A committee composed of members of the Council and a sub-committee of the Women's Advisory Committee was appointed to consider the situation. This committee decided that a reorganization was required, and so reported to the Council.

The reorganized faculty consisted of the following: Chancellor Henry M. MacCracken, acting dean; J. P. Gordy, Ph.D., professor of the History of Education; Robert MacDougall, Ph.D., professor of Analytical Psychology; and James E. Lough, Ph.D., professor of Experimental Psychology. Besides this governing faculty, not including nine lecturers in charge of certain "observation

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courses," the following regular lecturers were appointed: Edward R. Shaw, Ph.D., lecturer on Principles of Education and School Organization; Frederic Montesor, Ph.D., lecturer on Comparative School Systems and on Sociology as Related to Education; and Dr. L. E. La Fetra, lecturer on Physiological Pedagogics. Professor J. P. Gordy followed Chancellor MacCracken as acting dean until 1904. In 1904 Dr. Thomas M. Balliet of Springfield, Massachusetts, who had done graduate study at Yale and later at Leipzig, and had been superintendent of schools of the City of Springfield, was elected dean.

The conditions which led to the reorganization of the faculty in 1900, and the absence of a permanent Dean for four years, had reduced the attendance and consequently the income from tuition fees. The new dean found it necessary to throw his main strength into teaching to attract students. He gave new courses in Principles and Philosophy of Education, in Methods of Teaching in Elementary and Secondary School Subjects, in the Psychology Underlying Method, in Supervision of Instruction, and formed seminars of advanced students.

The attendance increased from year to year. In 1911 it reached 347; in 1912, 378; in 1913, 445; in 1914, 562; and in 1915, 568. When the United States entered the War the attendance diminished rapidly. In 1917 it fell 40½ percent, in 1918 it fell 18½ percent more, and in 1919 the total enrollment was only 168. This was due to the fact that teachers were engaged in various kinds of war work out of school hours, and to the rapid increase in the cost of living without any increase, at the time, in teachers' salaries.

The School of Education has always been largely dependent upon tuition fees for its financial support. Consequently any marked reduction in attendance at any time greatly reduced its financial resources. The budget for 1911-12, for example, was only \$20,000. Of this sum,

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\$4,100 came from an endowment fund, \$8,000 from tuition fees, and the remainder was contributed by the Women's Advisory Committee and their personal friends who were interested in the School. Tuition fees in all colleges and universities before the War were very small. They have since been greatly increased. In the School of Pedagogy they were low because the School had to compete with the free courses given by the city colleges and other lecture centers.

Financially limited, the School undertook to do a high quality of work in a limited field and in this the School succeeded. Its aim was to train men and women for colleges and normal schools and as superintendents and principals of schools. Its purpose was not to train teachers for the grades in the elementary schools, a work which the normal schools were doing effectively. By 1909 one of its graduates was professor of Education in Tokyo University; another a professor of Education in Mount Holyoke College; another a professor of Education in the University of Florida; another an assistant principal of a state normal school in Minnesota; another a professor of Education in the Maryland State Normal School; another an assistant professor of Psychology in the University of Chile; and still another a principal of a large industrial college in Louisiana. Besides these a large number of superintendents and principals of schools had gone out of the School of Pedagogy into the schools of New York City and the cities of surrounding states. In spite of its limited financial resources, the work of the School expanded gradually from year to year, until the World War came.

As early as 1907 a course in Education of the Feeble-minded was given by Dr. H. H. Goddard, a well-known authority in that field. The course later developed into a group of courses, some of them courses in Hand Work, others in Psychology, and still others in Method. Along

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with this group there was also added a course in the Psychology and Education of the Normal but Dull or Backward Child. In 1910 several courses in Experimental Pedagogy were established, and Dr. Paul R. Radosavljevich was appointed at first as assistant professor and later as professor in charge of this department. Dr. Radosavljevich had been trained in Europe under Professor Meumann, the great leader of this movement at that time.

In 1912 a course in School Hygiene was established in charge of the late Dr. Luther H. Gulick, and also a course in Methods in Industrial Education under Dr. A. A. Snowden. In 1911 a course in Methods of Teaching Modern Languages was added; also a course in the Teaching of Art. In 1908 a single course in Teaching Music was established in charge of Mr. Thomas Tapper. Out of this grew, in 1913, a department of Music-Teaching consisting of nine courses. These special courses and departments, with few exceptions, had to be discontinued after the disintegrating effects of the World War began to affect the attendance and the finances of the School.

The School up to 1921 consisted of two classes of students: (1) Graduates of colleges who were matriculated as candidates for the two degrees of Master of Pedagogy and Doctor of Pedagogy; and (2) Graduates of normal schools and students who had had two or three years of college work. The former constituted the nucleus of a later purely graduate school which the dean and faculty hoped to develop. These alone were allowed to take the advanced courses and were admitted into the seminars. The latter were admitted only to the elementary and general courses of the School.

In 1919 Dean Balliet retired from teaching and for two years the School was without a regular dean, Professor Marshall S. Brown, Dean of the Faculties, serving as acting dean.

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In February, 1921, Dr. John W. Withers, at that time Superintendent of Schools of St. Louis, Missouri, was appointed dean. After a study of the situation he recommended the following reorganization:

1. That the name of the school be changed from "School of Pedagogy" to "School of Education."

2. That the purpose of the school should be the preparation of men and women for educational service, both locally and in the wider field of national and international education.

3. That such service should include:

- a.* The education and training of (a) superintendents, supervisors, and directors for state, city, county, district, and local public school systems; (b) administrative officers, supervisors, professors, and teachers for universities, colleges, and professional schools for teachers; (c) directors, principals, supervisors, and teachers for secondary and elementary schools; (d) specialists in educational research and service.

- b.* The contribution by means of research toward the solution of practical problems of school administration, supervision, and teaching; and towards the development of an educational philosophy and of a practical policy of city and state education best suited to meet American needs.

- c.* The rendering of expert assistance to school officials in the making of school surveys and in the solution of practical problems which require immediate attention.

- d.* Coöperation with the undergraduate colleges of New York University—the Washington Square College and the University College of Arts and Pure Science—to prepare high-school teachers who are not only well grounded in the subjects which they are to teach, but are also given the fundamental training in Education necessary to successful teaching in the high schools.

- e.* Coöperation with the School of Commerce, Graduate School of Business Administration, and School of Retailing of New York University, and also with the great business and financial establishments of New York, to offer an unusual opportunity for the education of teachers for commercial schools and colleges, and for the training of personnel and other experts for large business and financial concerns. Students of these schools may pursue courses in the School of Education subject to the regulations of the faculty of the School of Education concerning the prerequisites and the sequence and dependence of courses.

- f.* Coöperation with the Graduate School of New York Univer-

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sity, to train college teachers who are scholars in their chosen field of research in the effective teaching of their subjects in colleges.

g. Extension of the services of the School of Education, through the Summer School and the Institute of Education, to teachers and others engaged in the profession of education, so that they may obtain the training and the degrees of the School of Education without necessarily interrupting their professional career.

h. The utilization in a practical way of the public-school systems of the metropolitan district in realizing the foregoing purposes, in cordial coöperation with the officials responsible for the administration of the schools of these cities. New York contains one-nineteenth of the total population of the United States and is the greatest educational laboratory in the world. Here may be found every type of educational problem and every variety of public or private-school condition to be met with elsewhere. The School of Education is within easy access to the schools of an urban population of approximately eight millions. The establishment of such cordial coöperative relations with these schools as will make possible the study of actual conditions in the practical training of men and women will enable the School of Education to render the maximum service of which it is capable.

4. That to accomplish the foregoing purpose the School of Education should be organized to include both an undergraduate division and a graduate division. That the undergraduate division be authorized to provide curricula leading to the degrees of Bachelor of Science in Education, Bachelor of Arts in Education, and Bachelor of Music in Education, and that the graduate division be authorized to conduct courses in instruction and research leading to the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy, and that as soon as possible the graduate degrees of Master of Pedagogy and Doctor of Pedagogy, previously authorized, be discontinued.

This plan for the reorganization of the School was, after due consideration, approved by the Chancellor and Council of the University.

In 1924, at the request of the Chancellor, the dean prepared and presented for the approval of the Council a revised program which included expansion of departments already established and the creation of certain new departments. This new program called for an expenditure within a period of three years of practically \$3,000,000 in the way of buildings, equipment, and increased cost of instruction.

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The program was unanimously approved by the Council, and the School entered enthusiastically upon a new era.

By the spring of 1925 it became evident that, on account of the expansion of other divisions of the University, calling for increased demands upon the Council for funds, the Council would not be able to finance the new program of the School of Education to the extent of supplying on time the necessary additional equipment in buildings, laboratory, and library accommodations to meet the needs of the rapidly increasing student body. Accordingly a movement was begun by the dean and prominent members of the faculty of the School of Education to organize a corporation to purchase certain properties at Washington Square and hold them for the use of the University until it could secure sufficient funds to relieve this corporation of that responsibility. Options were secured on three pieces of property on the east side of Washington Square between Fourth Street and Washington Place.

The corporation was legally organized and the property contracted for at the purchase price of \$889,100. Mortgages were already placed on the property to the total amount of \$500,000, and it was decided to secure the remainder of the purchase money, \$399,100, and enough additional to reduce the mortgage indebtedness to \$355,000 by the sale of debenture bonds against the assets of the corporation. It was decided to lease the entire property to the University for a period of ten years for an annual rental sufficient to meet all expenses, including interest on the indebtedness and a sufficient amount to retire at least \$10,000 in bonds annually.

At a meeting of the faculty in July, 1925, at which this plan was presented, \$100,000 worth of bonds were subscribed for. Two days later, at a meeting of the Summer School students who were taking courses in Education, approximately \$75,000 additional were sold. Two members

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of the Council of the University subscribed \$50,000 each, and subsequently \$125,000 worth of bonds were sold to the Corn Exchange Bank and \$15,000 to the Fordham National Bank and enough additional to present and former students of the School of Education and their friends to meet all the obligations of the corporation and complete the purchase.

This property was purchased with the understanding between the faculty of the School of Education and the Administration and Council of the University that, as soon as financially possible, a building should be erected on this site, which should be devoted to the needs of the School of Education. Plans were formulated for the erection on this property of such a building, which should include necessary office space, adequate provisions for classrooms for the School of Education, and also dormitory accommodations to take care of 900 students. A careful estimate of the income from this building indicated that from this source alone, the building, in all probability, could be paid for within a period of fifteen years.

Architectural plans for the building were prepared by the firm of Schultze and Weaver, and the cost was estimated at nearly four million dollars. The plan as submitted, however, did not fully accord with the architectural plans of the University for the several divisions located at Washington Square. The necessary funds for the erection of the building were not immediately available.

Accordingly, it was finally decided to take care, temporarily, of the needs for office and classroom space of the School of Education by continuing the use of the property of the Realty Corporation without change, except to take a small portion of it to complete a plot approximately 100 feet square at the northwest corner of Fourth and Green Streets on which it was decided to erect a twelve-story building to supply the needs of special departments of the School of Education until a satisfactory building could be

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erected on the property owned by the Realty Corporation.

Mr. James Gamble Rogers was requested to prepare and submit plans for this new building. These plans were accepted, and the erection of the building was immediately begun. This was made possible by the use of gifts to the University, which were made, chiefly, by Mr. Percy Straus, Dr. William H. Nichols, and Dr. John P. Munn of the University Council. The building was completed and dedicated on February 28, 1930.

In view of the present rate of growth of attendance in the School of Education and the need of advancing its educational program, the new and larger building to be erected on the property of the School of Education Realty Corporation is already sorely needed and this building will be erected as soon as the finances of the Council of the University make it possible.

The building originally occupied by New York University at Washington Square was replaced in 1894 by a new building. The University College was moved to the new property purchased at University Heights, and the University was granted by State authority permission to use the building at Washington Square, in part, as an income-producing property without taxation, on condition that all the instruction given by the School of Law and the School of Pedagogy and also the executive offices of the University be maintained in this building. This requirement was in force at the time of the reorganization of the School of Education in 1921.

In view of the fact that there was a growing demand for the services of the faculty of the School of Education outside of Washington Square, it was decided to establish the Institute of Education on a basis that would make it possible for this service to be rendered without violating the agreement of the University concerning the instruction given in the School of Education itself. Accordingly, a plan for the

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Institute of Education was submitted by Dean Withers to the Chancellor and the Council as a part of the general scheme of reorganization submitted by him in 1924. This plan was approved, the Institute was established, and its work begun in the fall of 1924.

The Institute provides for various types of service, among which are the following: courses for teachers, principals, supervisors, superintendents, and special workers in schools and colleges; educational research, including studies directed by regular members of the staff of the School of Education, with primary emphasis upon the results to be obtained in the improvement of learning and teaching processes for the school systems in which such research is conducted; comprehensive school surveys, when desired, involving analyses of conditions affecting the progress of school systems, and recommendations related to financial, administrative, supervisory, and instructional needs; advisory relationships, in which the service of members or committees of the faculty of the School of Education may be secured, on special problems concerned with policy, program, organization, administration, or supervision of school work; conferences and lecture work for laymen, presenting purposes, plans, and programs of education through school-board associations, women's clubs, civic orders, parents' organizations, church clubs, fraternal groups, etc.; and, finally, teachers' conferences or institute work assisting in the planning of programs and in providing speakers that will be educationally helpful to teachers.

The courses offered in the Institute of Education are presented under conditions identical with those in residence at Washington Square in the admission of students, course requirements, and faculty personnel. A portion of the time of regular faculty members is set apart each year for this type of work and the courses are given by faculty members without additional salary except for the cost of transporta-

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tion and one hundred dollars additional for each full course to compensate for the extra time that faculty members use in journeying to and from the Institute centers.

In establishing the Institute of Education, the dean of the School of Education had in mind two purposes. The first was to render professional service to any school or system that applied for such service, and to furnish the necessary local conditions in the way of housing, library equipment, etc., necessary to enable the instructor to render the service with the same degree of efficiency as in residence in the School of Education, with the general understanding that such service will be rendered only where the conditions make it impossible or undesirable for a competent local college or university to render it. The second motive was to keep the regular members of the faculty of the School of Education in contact with progressive school systems throughout the country. The Institute of Education has been happily successful in both of these directions. The demand for the services of the faculty outruns each year our ability to meet all the requests that are made.

The enrollment in the courses offered for teachers, supervisors, and principals in various centers has increased annually until at the present time the Institute enrolls about 3,000 students; and centers have been established in a number of states and at points that in some instances are too distant to make it possible for the members of the faculty to use railroad transportation. For some of these centers during the academic year of 1930-31 the services of the Newark Airport were required for the transportation of faculty members by airplane. It is intended to continue this service, especially for communities that desire it and that have satisfactory airport accommodations.

The growth in the student body since the reorganization of the School of Education in 1921 has been phenomenal. The total enrollment during the year 1920-21 was 141

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students, practically all of whom were in part-time attendance. The majority of these were teachers in the New York City schools, who were pursuing courses after school hours and on Saturdays. Since that year, the attendance has grown steadily and very rapidly. The total enrollment of different students in 1930-31 was 7,493. Of these, 5,449 were in the undergraduate division and 1,544 were graduate students, representing colleges and universities from all sections of the United States and fifteen foreign countries. These students represent all types of occupation and of interest in Education, from the kindergarten and pre-kindergarten schools to and including colleges and universities.

At the time of the organization of the School of Pedagogy, 1890, to which women as well as men were to be admitted, a committee of twelve representative women, known officially as "The Women's Advisory Committee," was appointed by the Council to look after the interests of the women students, and to advise with the Chancellor and the dean of the School in regard to its policies, especially in so far as the welfare of the women students was concerned. The Committee was later enlarged in membership, and its function much extended, in order to make it possible for it to carry out the great service that it rendered the school during the twenty-nine years of the Committee's existence. The Committee, through its secretary, made an annual report to the Chancellor. Unfortunately, the University records of the School are incomplete, and a number of important details of its history cannot be recorded here.

The first president of the Women's Advisory Committee was Miss Emily O. Butler, deeply devoted to the interests of the School, who, after several reëlections, declined a renomination, but continued a member of the Committee during its entire life. Mrs. Eugene Smith was its first secretary, and served for many years. In the year 1900, its mem-

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bership was as follows: Mrs. Henry Draper, President; Miss Helen Miller Gould, Vice-President; Mrs. Eugene Smith, Secretary; Mrs. C. A. Herter, Treasurer; Mrs. Edward C. Bodman, Mrs. Lewis H. Lapham, Mrs. William W. Hervey, Mrs. John P. Munn, Mrs. Russell Sage, Mrs. Ogden Jones, Mrs. Richard M. Hoe, Mrs. J. Lowrie Bell, Mrs. George F. Baker, Mrs. William W. Wheelock, Miss Emily O. Butler, Mrs. Archibald Alexander, Mrs. Welcome G. Hitchcock, Mrs. David Dows, Jr.

This Committee was very active all through the period of its existence. It secured the financial resources necessary to meet the annual deficits of the budget. In this sense it kept the School alive during the financially critical years of its existence. The members contributed generously to the funds raised, and they secured contributions from other friends of the University.

The Committee held monthly meetings at which the various interests and needs of the School were discussed, and at which sub-committees made reports. To these meetings the dean was invited and given an opportunity to report on the work and the policy of the School. Occasionally individual members of the faculty were invited to explain somewhat in detail the courses in their departments. Now and then, the Chancellor met with the Committee and discussed important special problems of the School.

The President and other members, during the last fifteen years of the Committee's existence, visited the classes of the School frequently and had a very accurate idea of the aims and the effectiveness of its work. The President, Mrs. Edward C. Bodman, was deeply interested in the newer phases of educational thought and was widely read in current educational literature. Mrs. Bodman has continued her active interest in the School of Education up to the present time and has contributed liberally to its support.

The establishment of new courses, as the school expanded,

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was always taken up by the Committee, their character and aim were discussed, and their financial support was provided. A department in Education of Backward and Defective Children, a department of Physical Education and School Hygiene, courses in Industrial Education, and courses in the Teaching of Art, were all established through the activity of this Committee.

When the United States entered the War, most of these activities had to be discontinued. Chancellor Henry M. MacCracken in one of his later annual reports says:

The Women's Advisory Committee have continued their constant and generous support of the School. By acquainting themselves thoroughly with the curriculum and methods of instruction and the requirements of the students, they have strengthened the hands of the faculty. The members of this committee have probably heard more classroom lectures than the members of all other committees of the corporation have heard in all the six schools of the University.

CHAPTER XV

THE SCHOOLS OF COMMERCE AND OF RETAILING

THE School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance, established in August, 1900, was one of the earliest collegiate schools of business, and in at least two respects, differed from its predecessors. It was distinctly a professional school, unconnected with the College of Arts; and it was founded by practical business men, who, instead of contributing an endowment, gave their time and energy to the task of instruction. As they could do this only after business hours, the classroom sessions were originally confined to the evenings.

Although the impulse that led to the establishment of the School of Commerce came from outside, this sort of instruction had been contemplated early in the history of the University, and possibly at the very beginning. It is recorded in the minutes of the University Council of February 12, 1833, that the Chancellor brought forward for consideration "the expediency and propriety of establishing in the University a professorship of Commerce," and "communications were received and read on the importance and advantages of a correct and liberal course of instruction in Commerce and the useful arts."

The time was not ripe for attempting such an experiment, even assuming that a qualified instructor could have been found. But in the latter years of the century a more scientific spirit had begun to permeate business, and one group, the accountants, had organized on a professional basis. It was natural that the movement for professional training should come from them.

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The New York State Society of Certified Public Accountants deserves the credit for conceiving the idea of the School and shaping the plan. Chancellor MacCracken deserves almost equal credit for being broad-minded and far-sighted enough to admit this new and experimental School into full fellowship with the old and successful Schools of the University. There was no endowment; he merely had the assurance of the sponsors that no deficit would result. Their faith was well-founded. Throughout the thirty-one years of its history, the School of Commerce has never placed a burden upon the resources of the University. Not even in one single year have its operations resulted in a deficit.

In 1900, however, the idea of professional training for business was generally looked upon with scepticism, if not with actual derision, not only in academic but in business circles. Fortunately, the men who approached Chancellor MacCracken were men of high character and deep sincerity, whose business success was proof that they were not visionaries. Notable among them were Charles Waldo Haskins, senior member of the accounting firm of Haskins and Sells, Charles Ezra Sprague, President of the Union Dime Savings Bank, and Leon Brummer.

Mr. Haskins became the first dean of the new institution, but lived only long enough to see the School well established and on the road to success. Colonel Sprague was a member of the original faculty and remained active as a teacher until his death in 1912, at the age of seventy. Possibly more than any other one man, he was responsible for Chancellor MacCracken's final decision to accept the project of the founders. For when it seemed likely that the decision might be adverse, he rented the house of one of the University professors during the summer vacation, came into close contact with the Chancellor, and, during frequent walks on the campus, was able to discuss the plan with him;

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and Colonel Sprague, a linguist and scholar as well as a man of remarkable personal charm, was able to impress Chancellor MacCracken as few others could have done.

What was equally important, Colonel Sprague was the type of man who could make the new venture a success. One who taught for the love of teaching—literally, since he accepted no compensation—he was able to inspire in his students genuine enthusiasm. His patience in explaining difficult points was seemingly inexhaustible; and he had a deep, personal interest in each of his students. Much the same might be said of Leon Brummer, who, like Colonel Sprague, served as a member of the faculty (though not continuously) for more than a dozen years. These two men, and others like them, formed the nucleus of the present faculty. All the courses were taught by business men, with the exception of the courses in Commercial Law, a subject in which the lecturers were drawn from the Law School.

The official announcement of the new School contained the following statement of purposes and methods:

This School differs from the several schools of finance or commerce recently established by prominent universities in America in that its entire instruction is intended to be professional in character. It is in no way to be confounded with or substituted for the course of liberal culture in a College of Arts and Science, but it may be advantageously connected therewith. The School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance is founded in the firm belief that business education, adequately to meet existing and future conditions of civilization, must be placed upon a scientific basis; that traditional methods, office routine, and procedure of control must be traced to their underlying principles; that native genius for trade and finance must be reinforced by a well-grounded knowledge of economics, accountancy, and commercial law; that not only administrators of affairs but, in due proportion, their assistants, ought each to understand the philosophy as well as the art of his calling and be able intelligently to adapt himself and his work to the exigencies of the commercial and financial world.

The school is twofold in its aim: to elevate the standard of business education, and to furnish a complete and thorough course of instruction

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in the higher professional accountancy. In accountancy, the Act of 1896 and rules of the Regents, substantially mark out the course of study; which, however, includes the historical as well as the legal, practical, and theoretical aspects of the subject. In the more general higher commercial education, the plan of the school is elastic; and the courses in economics and commercial law will be enlarged, and other studies will be added, as circumstances require. This plan of study is broad enough in scope, it is believed, not only to meet the wants of the prospective professional accountant, for whom it is primarily intended, but also for those who are to be administrators of affairs, and to whom a working knowledge of accountancy, commercial law, and economics is of the first importance.

The work of the School is carried on at the new University Building, Washington Square, New York City. In this building are located also the Administration Offices and three other schools of the University: the Graduate School, the School of Pedagogy, and the Law School. The position of the School in New York enables it to secure the services of practical business men and public accountants as instructors and lecturers along lines in which they have arrived at eminence.

The curriculum offered for the first year consisted of the following courses, all given in the evenings from 8 to 10:

<i>Monday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Thursday</i>	<i>Friday</i>
History of Accountancy	Commerce and Finance	Sales	Practical Accounting	Law of Contracts
Theory of Accounts			Auditing	

About 60 students were enrolled for the first year, and the results were satisfactory enough to promise a successful future. This first year also showed, however, the need of a capable administrator who could devote his full time and energy to the work of developing the School. The man chosen for this task was Joseph French Johnson, then a Professor in the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, who had previously had experience as a teacher, a business executive, and a newspaper editor and publisher. He accepted the position of secretary of the School of Commerce in 1901, and in 1903, after the death of Charles Waldo Haskins, he became its second dean.

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Nothing that could be said in praise of the character and ability of Dean Johnson is so eloquent as the record of the growth of the School of Commerce under his administration—a growth that doubtless has no precedent in the history of university education. Within ten years the student enrollment had passed the thousand mark, and at the time of Dean Johnson's death in 1925, it was well over five thousand. The curriculum showed a list of more than two hundred courses, some of which were offered in as many as twenty sections, or classes.

This phenomenal development, of course, cannot be attributed wholly to the policies of Dean Johnson. The growing extent and complexity of business problems had shown the need of scientific training, and collegiate schools of business throughout the country were responding to the impulse. Being a pioneer in the field, and situated in the largest commercial city of the United States, the New York University School of Commerce naturally attracted students not only from its own community but from distant cities. Dean Johnson showed remarkable wisdom in meeting his opportunities and responsibilities. While holding to the original conception of the founders of the School, he broadened its scope immeasurably and constantly adapted it to the changing requirements of the business world.

It is impossible here to detail the changes that took place. Almost every year saw a new milestone of progress. One of the earliest steps was the adoption of a three-year program of evening courses, leading to the degree of B.C.S. (Bachelor of Commercial Science). By 1905, the evening hours had become too crowded, and classes were scheduled for the late afternoon. The courses were arranged in four main groups or departments, Accounting, Commerce, Finance, and Law; and certain courses in each group were required of all candidates for a degree.

To these fields, Business English and Foreign Languages

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(commercial) were soon added, and beginning in 1910, a group of courses in Journalism. Journalism has not usually been considered an essential part of business training; and, in providing instruction in this field, Dean Johnson may have been guided somewhat by his personal inclinations. However, he had taught such courses at the University of Pennsylvania, and had become convinced of their value to the business man; moreover, he believed strongly that the newspaper man should have training in business subjects. He gave some of the lectures in Journalism himself in 1910-11, but two years later appointed the late James Melvin Lee director of the department. Professor Lee continued until his death in 1929 to develop the work as an integral—though somewhat isolated—department of the School of Commerce, where it still remains.

Somewhat similar motives prompted the next important addition to the curriculum, the department of Politics (later Government) which was established in 1912 under the direction of Professor Jeremiah Whipple Jenks, previously of Cornell. Here, no doubt, Dean Johnson was influenced by his friendship and admiration for Professor Jenks, who did indeed prove a most valuable addition to the faculty. Through his inspiring personality and ripe scholarship, he contributed much to the reputation of the School and the University and attracted an important group of graduate students. His services, however, were soon demanded as advisor to the Chinese government; and other important missions necessitated frequent leaves of absence from University duty. Lacking the stimulus of his constant guidance, the department of Government failed to maintain a permanent position in the Commerce curriculum, although some of the courses have continued under the jurisdiction of other schools of the University.

Most of the new courses and departments of instruction were in no sense grafts, but were natural offshoots of the

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parent stem. Most of them came in response to definitely expressed demands by students, alumni, or the business world. Such, for example, was the department of Marketing. One or two courses in Salesmanship and Advertising were given as early as 1906. These were mainly composed of isolated lectures by different specialists; they were practical and stimulating, but too lacking in sequence and coördination to be entirely satisfactory as education. About 1910, the members of the Advertising Men's League (now the Advertising Club of New York), feeling their own need of better educational training in their field, established a group of short courses. Among the most popular were: Advertising Display, by the late Frank Alvah Parsons of the New York School of Fine and Applied Art; Advertising Psychology, by Harry L. Hollingworth of Columbia University; Advertising Copy, by George Burton Hotchkiss of the School of Commerce faculty. These continued for a few years under the auspices of the Advertising Men's League, but in 1913 were transferred bodily to the School of Commerce, expanded, and made available to a wider group of students. Together with the course in Essentials of Advertising, given by Harry Tipper, then Advertising Manager of the Texas Company, they formed the basis of a new group of courses, which was organized in 1915 as the department of Advertising and Marketing.

This same year, 1915, witnessed the organization of several other new departments, notably Economics, Commercial Geography, Management, Trade and Transportation, Sociology, and Methods of Commercial Teaching. These were formed by splitting up the old department of Commerce, which included courses in practically all these subjects. From a single course in 1900, the department had grown to a list of thirty-nine courses, too unwieldy and uncoördinated for convenient administration. Moreover, the term 'Commerce' had ceased to be an accurate descriptive

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title for them, and was abandoned. Most of the new departments created in 1915 have continued in substantially the same form, but with gradual additions of new courses.

More important in some ways than the broadening of the curriculum was the creation of new groups in the student body, and the arrangement of classes to meet their needs. The Day Division was established in 1912 for the benefit of students who could devote their full time to classroom work. A Brooklyn Division also was opened in 1912, and a few years later a Wall Street Division. At these centers classes were given in all the essential first-year courses. At Wall Street some advanced classes were offered in subjects that were demanded by employees of financial houses.

Almost from the beginning there were some students who desired more instruction than was required for the bachelor's degree, and therefore returned for graduate work. Beginning in 1908, the degree of M.C.S. (Master of Commercial Science) was offered, and attracted an increasing number of candidates. Another important group of students were those who already held the degree of B.A. or B.S. This classification has gradually grown until in 1917 they numbered about 200, and were separately grouped for special instruction adapted to them, leading to the degree of M.B.A. (Master of Business Administration). For a few years they received most of their instruction in the same classes with undergraduates; but, beginning in 1920, separate courses were created for them and organized into the curriculum of the Graduate School of Business Administration, with Archibald Wellington Taylor as dean.

The rapid growth of all these sections of the student body brought with it many difficult problems. Most obvious and pressing was the problem of physical accommodations. As late as 1912 the School had only a part of the eighth floor of the Main Building at Washington Square that it could call its own. As fast as new rooms were pro-

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vided, the student body overflowed them; and almost every year temporary makeshift accommodations had to be found in neighboring buildings—this in spite of the fact that after 1915 the schedule of courses extended from 9 A.M. to 10 P.M. and thus permitted continuous use of the classroom facilities.

The removal of the printing plant of the American Book Company from the Main Building in 1922 seemed to promise more elbow-room, but by this time other rapidly developing schools of the University were also clamoring for space. Some relief had been obtained in 1920 when the University bought the old Trinity School building at 90 Trinity Place; but this merely served to house the Graduate School of Business Administration and the Wall Street Division. The latter had led a nomadic existence since the beginning. For a time it had been in rooms provided by the Bankers Trust Company; later at 25 Broad Street, with some classes held in other buildings of the District. Even in 1931 the Finance Forum continues to be held, as it has been for the past seven years, in the Governor's Room of the Stock Exchange. At Washington Square the housing problem continued to be acute until 1926, when the Borgfeldt building at the southeast corner was acquired and remodelled into a fairly satisfactory home for the School of Commerce.

A more serious problem still was that of building and maintaining a faculty, and it demanded no small part of Dean Johnson's time and energy. So long as the School was exclusively an evening school the task was relatively simple. As the original announcement promised, the School was enabled—thanks to Dean Johnson's prestige and persuasiveness—"to secure the services of practical business men and public accountants as instructors and lecturers along lines in which they have arrived at eminence." Among the most eminent men it secured in the early years were Joseph

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Hardcastle, Elijah W. Sells, and Frank A. Vanderlip; somewhat later Joyce Kilmer, Albert W. Atwood, and Lawrence Chamberlain. One of the early lecturers, E. R. Hardy (Fire Insurance), still remains on the Faculty, with a record of over twenty-five years of service. Walter A. Bayer, who was graduated from the School in 1903, served as an instructor in Accounting until his death in 1932.

But with the growth of the School, and particularly of the Day Division, it became imperative to obtain a group of professors and instructors who could devote most of their time to teaching. (Not *all* their time; Dean Johnson believed that the teacher of business subjects needed to keep in touch with practical affairs through some business connection as a sideline.) Only in two departments was there anything like an easy solution to the problem of finding teachers. In Commercial Law he had Professor Cleveland F. Bacon, who had come to the School in its second year, and who is the only professor surviving from that formative period. In Accounting he was able to draw upon a succession of graduates of the School—men who were familiar with his ideals and methods, and better trained in their subjects, perhaps, than could have been found elsewhere. But in the new fields of instruction in which the School was a pioneer, no supply of trained teachers was available anywhere. Raw material had to be sought carefully and patiently and then moulded to fit the peculiar requirements of the School.

The members of the faculty had few tools to work with, and almost no precedent. They had to develop new texts and new teaching methods. In Commercial Law, for example, as early as 1902 or 1903 Professor Bacon recognized the fact that the procedure of the professional law schools was unsuited to the needs of business men, and set about to evolve a new system for his law courses. These were doubtless the first successful courses of their kind. And they

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were only the first of many "firsts" established by the New York University School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance. In other fields of instruction the development of courses proceeded more slowly, and it is difficult to assign fairly the credit for some of them. To mention only those who are no longer in the faculty, William H. Dennis, John R. Wildman, and Leo Greendlinger in Accounting, William H. Lough and Charles W. Gerstenberg in Finance, Lee Galloway in Management, Ralph Starr Butler in Marketing, John G. Jones and Elmer Ellsworth Ferris in Salesmanship, John R. Turner, Willard C. Fisher, and David Friday in Economics, and Edwin J. Clapp in Trade and Transportation, all contributed to the literature of their subjects and to the improvement of teaching technique.

It must be admitted frankly that the School has been almost constantly undermanned. The supply of teachers has never been more than barely adequate in quantity. That it has consistently been high in quality, however, seems sufficiently evident from the frequent calls its members have received to go into executive positions either in business or in other educational institutions. Naturally, these calls could not always be resisted. Two professors have left to become college presidents, one to become dean of another School of Business, at least four to become presidents or vice-presidents of important corporations, one to become editor of a leading newspaper, and several others to occupy responsible executive positions, with remuneration far greater than the University could pay. Considering the fact that a professor in the School of Commerce must possess many of the talents that make for business success, it is remarkable that the competition of business has not taken even more serious toll of the faculty. In a number of instances, graduates of the School of Commerce have resigned from business positions to accept a position on the faculty at a much lower salary.

For at least the first fifteen years of his administration,

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Dean Johnson personally selected practically every new addition to the staff. Although later he left much of the initiative to his heads of departments, his counsel was always sought, and was usually a decisive factor in the choice. Many important additions have been made since Dean Johnson's death in 1926, but the Commerce faculty may still be said to be his contribution to the University. His successor, Dean John T. Madden, had been trained under him, first as a student, then as an instructor in Accounting, later as professor and head of the Accounting department, and finally as assistant dean. In essentials, their policies were identical, especially so far as concerned the personnel of the School.

The World War is a convenient dividing point in all histories. Yet there were no important changes in the School of Commerce. During the War itself, a considerable number of the professors and instructors were engaged in various forms of war service; some in Washington, others in New York. Many of the graduates served in the combat units; a very considerable number were assigned to less spectacular but equally necessary posts involving "paper-work." Some alumni have confessed (rather regretfully) that their diplomas tended to prevent their reaching the firing line. Accountants were sorely needed by both the army and the navy, and it was taken for granted that any graduate of the School of Commerce must necessarily be a good accountant. That these men lived up to the reputation of the School is indicated by the fact that the Navy sent groups of its officers here for special training.

Possibly the most notable change in the School of Commerce that is in any way attributable to the War is the proportionably greater importance of the Day Division. Starting with 60 Day students in 1912, this group averaged over 300 in the years from 1915 to 1918, but it was never more than 10 per cent of the total student body. Its growth was

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stimulated somewhat in 1919-1924 by the considerable number of disabled soldiers who came here under the auspices of the Federal Board for rehabilitation training. Some of these men made brilliant records as students, and nearly all became loyal alumni.

The chief influence in building up the Day Division, however, was the fact that the value of scientific training for business was so generally recognized that men no longer needed to wait until their own experience had proved it. The Evening students in the early years of the School had averaged over thirty years of age: this average had gradually declined to about twenty-three. Many were now entering immediately upon graduation from high school. After the War an increasing number decided to get their University training first, and go into business later.

This change in the age and background of the student body necessitated revisions of the educational program. The most obvious outward change was the lengthening of the course. Up to 1917 the degree of B.C.S. might be obtained by three years of Evening work, or two years of full-time Day work. In 1917 the Evening course was extended to four years, and the Day course to three. The Day School candidate had to obtain credit for 96 points of classroom work; the Evening School candidate had to obtain credit for 72 points, and in addition present evidence of three years' successful business experience while in the School. This distinction between the two groups was undoubtedly valid in the first two decades of the School's history. Evening students in responsible positions were having laboratory practice of the most useful sort, and at graduation were the equals of their Day School brothers in educational development.

With the younger group of students in the post-bellum period, this credit for business experience became less justifiable, since in many instances their office work consisted

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of subordinate and routine tasks. In 1926 the course for the B.C.S. was lengthened to four years for Day students, and the point requirements (128 points of credit) were made the same for Evening students. The old method of allowing general credit for business experience was abandoned; opportunity was afforded for obtaining a limited amount of credit for *supervised* business experience and business research, but even this substitute for classroom work is no longer accepted. As a matter of fact most of the Evening students found it easier and more beneficial to obtain their credits by attending the courses at the School. They are usually able to meet the degree requirements by six years of Evening work. Those who do not care to embark on so lengthy a program are able to obtain a certificate in specialized fields, such as Accounting, Finance, or Marketing, by three years of Evening work.

Much deeper and more significant than the lengthening of the period of training has been the change in its content and direction. The early courses were mostly technical and of "bread-and-butter" character. The students were mature men who knew what they wanted, and the training in tools and methods was well fitted for a period in which business followed a stabilized routine. But the younger group of students since the War have been less certain of their needs. Moreover, there has been a great acceleration in the tempo of business, and an almost complete absence of stabilization. While courses of practical character have been continued wherever the demand prevailed or where stability was present, the emphasis has been placed increasingly upon broad principles. Even the "practical" courses have been made more cultural, in the sense that they tend more to develop such abilities as should enable the student to cope with to-morrow's problems as well as to-day's. In addition, the curriculum for the B.C.S. has been enriched with a group of general courses in Literature, Science,

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History, Ethics, Logic, etc., all specifically designed to fit the needs of the well-educated business man.

Beginning in 1926 the School of Commerce offered also the degree of B.S. with appropriate designation; i.e., B.S. in Accounting, B.S. in Marketing, etc. This was made possible by the coöperation of the Washington Square College, which provided a wide array of Arts courses. The program permitted a substantially equal balance between cultural and professional instruction. At the same time candidates for degrees in the Washington Square College were given the privilege of electing a certain amount of work in the School of Commerce.

The close and friendly coöperation of these two schools is but a single instance of an important but gradual change in the relationship of the School of Commerce to the University as a whole. For the first ten years of its history the School of Commerce had been an independent and self-sufficient unit in the institution. With the Law School there was some exchange of credit, but no classroom contact with students of other schools and very little contact of any sort.

The transition to the present close relationship of the School of Commerce to the Colleges of Arts, the School of Education, and the School of Retailing was gradual and was due to a combination of causes. Among the deepest and most fundamental was Chancellor Brown's policy of unification. At the outset of his administration in 1911 he appreciated the remarkable vitality of the young School of Commerce, and realized that it had much to contribute to the older members of the academic family, as well as much to gain from them. In a quiet but effective way he helped to further the harmonious coöperation of the faculties of the several schools and the more effective coördination of the curricula. When the College-Commerce curriculum was adopted at University Heights, the vocational courses were planned and administered by a director from the School of Com-

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merce, and the instructors likewise came from this faculty.

Several years before the inauguration of the B.S. program, Commerce students majoring in such subjects as Journalism and Marketing had been permitted by special arrangement to elect certain Arts courses in the Washington Square College. Thus the developments of 1926 were all a result of natural evolution, and merely systematized a combination of subjects that had already proved its usefulness. It may here be noted that although requirements for the B.S. and B.C.S. degrees have been made equivalent in length and severity, the majority of Commerce students still work for the B.C.S. degree. Both programs, however, have justified themselves, if their popularity may be taken as an indication of merit. In the period from 1921 to 1925, the average enrollment in the Day Division was between 900 and 1,000 students. In 1926 it increased to 1,100, and progressive increases brought it above 2,000 in 1930 and 1931. The Evening group grew also, but more slowly, so that in 1930 the Day students comprised almost 30 percent of the total enrollment (which includes a large number of part-time students) whereas before the war they had been only about 10 percent of the total, and in the period from 1921 to 1925 only about 15 percent of the total. Naturally, these Day students have given Commerce a far greater share in the undergraduate activities of the University, including athletics.

It should not be inferred that extra-curriculum activities are the exclusive prerogative of the Day students. Even while the School was made up entirely of Evening students, they initiated many forms of social, literary, and athletic enterprises. One fraternity was organized in 1905, another in 1907; both now claim forty or more chapters in other universities having Schools of Business. The first of a series of year-books was published by the class of 1908. Debating teams were organized and engaged in forensic combats with

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teams from the Evening School at the University of Pennsylvania. And there were, of course, many student clubs, some of which have survived up to the present time.

Although these men considered themselves "Commerce men" they have since proved themselves as loyal in their allegiance to New York University as any other class of alumni. From them have come not only the dean and several other professors, but members of the University Council, presidents of the Alumni Federation, and energetic workers in every progressive movement of the University. Since the Alumni Fund was started in 1928, the total contributions by Commerce alumni have been larger than those of any other group, and a large proportion—including the most generous individual contributions—have come from graduates of the Evening Division.

With the adoption of the four-year degree programs in 1926, the work of curriculum-building was practically finished. The task that has occupied the faculty since then has been the improvement in the quality of work done by the students—which implies improvement in the quality of instruction. A selective system of admissions was adopted to guard against the entrance of students who lack aptitude for the work and therefore might retard the progress of the classes. The size of the classes was decreased by adding new sections. This in turn meant additions to the faculty, mainly additions of permanent full-time instructors. Although the use of part-time lecturers in Evening classes has not been altogether abandoned, the proportion of classes handled in this way has constantly diminished, and is now very small. Some of the outside lecturers who had served nobly for several years were released with genuine regret, and only because they were unable to teach the number of sections—particularly day sections—that were demanded in their subjects. It was imperative that all the classes in a given course should cover substantially the same ground by about the

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same methods, and this usually demanded the close coöperation of a homogeneous group of instructors; and, although there has been no attempt to cramp the individuality of instructors, they have been stimulated to improve their methods, both by classroom observation of the older and more experienced professors, and by a system of semi-monthly conferences on teaching methods. In these conferences invaluable help has been received from the faculty of the School of Education.

All the larger departments also hold regular departmental meetings, at which policies and methods are discussed and agreed upon. Since 1923, when the system of permanent heads of departments was replaced by a system of temporary chairmen, there has been a progressive tendency toward a more democratic form of faculty organization. In recent years the faculty of each department has had a voice in all questions of policy, including budgets and promotions, but their influence has been most apparent in the improvement and standardization of instruction.

No yardstick is available to measure the progress of the School of Commerce between 1926 and 1931. True, the roster of the faculty is longer, and shows 77 men of professorial rank, as compared with 63 in 1926. True also, the bibliography of these men shows a remarkable range and amount of productive work, including not only teaching-texts but substantial contributions to scientific knowledge. But these are merely general indications of quality. In the same category may be placed other services rendered to public and private enterprises by various members of the faculty, the list of which is too long to be detailed here. After all, the chief duty of the faculty is the efficient training of the young men and women entrusted to their charge. How well the present faculty are discharging this duty cannot be known for some years to come. That they are fully aware of the responsibility was indicated by the inaugura-

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tion in 1931 of "Freshman Week," during which the entering class of some six-hundred Day students were given personal counsel by members of the faculty, including all the chairman of departments, concerning their programs of subjects and their student activities. Such guidance is not intended to become paternalistic supervision; it is merely a new manifestation of policy—perhaps the one policy—that has characterized the School of Commerce throughout its history; namely, the policy of adapting its education to fit the needs of its student body.

Beyond the freshman year the students have need for only a minimum of guidance from the faculty. The pioneering spirit that has been mentioned in connection with the classes of the early years has always characterized the student body. The list of activities that they have initiated is too long to chronicle here. Some of the clubs founded by students were short-lived, of course, but many have continued to prosper, and 51 recognized fraternities and sororities are active. One student enterprise to which the Commerce students contributed is the *New York University Daily News*, which assumed its present form in 1922. Its ancestor (so far as the downtown schools are concerned) was the *Washington Square Dealer*. This was initiated entirely by a group of Commerce students in 1913 with the avowed purpose "of creating a spirit of unity and friendship among the several schools" and helping "the building of a bigger, better and busier New York University." It not only supported itself through some rather lean years but accomplished its purposes. During the past five years the students have not begun so many new activities that are strictly confined to Commerce, but they have taken a far larger share in all the progressive developments at the Washington Square Center of the University.

The Graduate School of Business Administration has also made notable progress in recent years; and its enrollment

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for 1931-32 was nearly one thousand students. When the four-year B.C.S. program was adopted by the School of Commerce in 1926, all graduate work was assigned to the Graduate School of Business Administration, with the exception that holders of the old B.C.S. degree were allowed until 1931 to complete their work for the M.C.S. degree. Beginning with 1931, candidates for the M.C.S. must be graduates of a four-year B.C.S. course, or the equivalent. The amount of work required in classroom courses is substantially equal to that of M.B.A. candidates. The Graduate School of Business Administration also grants the degree of Doctor of Commercial Science (D.C.S.) to candidates who complete an amount of work equivalent to that of a Doctor of Philosophy in Commerce, as granted by other institutions.

Closely allied with the Graduate School of Business Administration is the Bureau of Business Research, organized in 1918. Dr. Lewis H. Haney has been director of the Bureau throughout its history. The main purpose has been to make studies and reports that are of general public service, but some research has been undertaken at the instance of private corporations. Many of the reports have been published. Partly because of the lack of endowment, the work of the Bureau was suspended in 1932.

In 1926 the Investment Bankers Association of America, in coöperation with New York University, established the Institute of International Finance. Its purpose is to collect, from official and authoritative sources, data on economic and financial conditions abroad, with particular reference to the foreign securities dealt in on the American market. Dean John T. Madden has been director of the Institute since 1927.

Most universities that offer courses in Retailing include them in the curricula of their schools of Business. At New York University, where Journalism and Government were

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incorporated in the School of Commerce at an early date, it might have been expected that Retailing would also have been developed in a similar manner. As it happened, the instruction in Retailing has been developed by a separate degree-granting school, although its relations with the School of Commerce have always been very close.

The original movement which led to the School of Retailing came from outside the University. Early in 1919 a group of retail merchants, headed by Mr. Samuel W. Reyburn, president of Lord & Taylor, invited New York University to establish a Training School for Teachers of Retail Selling. Unlike the earlier founders of the School of Commerce, however, they offered financial support instead of their own services as instructors (although as a matter of fact some of them have given special lectures). Nearly all the large department stores subscribed to a fund of \$100,000 to finance the operations for the first five years, and the work was begun in the fall of 1919 under the direction of Dr. Lee Galloway.

The following year the scope of the instruction was broadened and the work reorganized by Dr. Norris A. Brisco, who came here from the University of Iowa, as Professor of Merchandising. In 1921, Dr. Brisco became the first dean of the newly titled School of Retailing—the first in the country. The degree of Master of Science in Retailing was authorized. This degree was open only to graduates of accredited colleges, and required a certain amount of laboratory or research work in stores as well as the completion of course work in the Day School.

The progress of the School was so satisfactory that upon the expiration of the first five years, the stores renewed their agreement of support for another five years. Again in 1929 they renewed the agreement for a third period of the same length. The number of degree candidates has increased year by year, and large numbers of store employees have

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been trained in the evening courses. The faculty has gradually been enlarged, and additions have been made to the curriculum, until in 1930-31 this included 10 day courses for the first term and 13 for the second term; the number of evening courses was considerably greater.

The administration of the School of Retailing is under an advisory council composed of one representative from each of the contributing organizations, two representatives from the Department of Education of New York, and one representative from the Department of Education of Newark, New Jersey. This arrangement insures a form of training that is educationally sound and practically adapted to the needs of retail business. Some of the stores, in addition to this general financial support, have contributed generously in the form of scholarships and prizes. Among the more important of these are the Franklin Simon Research Fellowship, established in 1923, the Namm Store Scholarships (8), established in 1927, and the James A. Hearn and Bloomingdale prizes. There are a large number of Service Fellowships, the holders of which attend classroom courses in the morning and serve in the stores in the afternoon.

In 1922 the honorary retailing fraternity of Eta Mu Pi was founded. In 1925 the *Journal of Retailing* was established and has been published quarterly ever since.

Although the curriculum of the School of Retailing necessarily borders closely upon that of the School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance, at many points, the relations between the schools have always been carried on without friction. Some of the courses are included in both schools and the whole Retailing group is recognized as a departmental group in which a Commerce student may take a major or minor. Since the adoption of the four-year program in 1927, it has been possible to work for the degree of Bachelor of Science in Retailing, Bachelor of Commercial Science (specializing in Retailing), and the Certificate

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in Retailing. By similar coöperation with the Washington Square College and the School of Education, students in these schools have been enabled to specialize in Retailing while working for their respective degrees. Retailing courses are also offered in the Summer School and the Extension Division.

Throughout the ten years of its history as a degree-granting school, growth has been steady and consistent. Though one of the youngest of the professional schools, the School of Retailing has done its full share to justify the assertion that New York University adapts itself to meet the educational needs of its community.

CHAPTER XVI

THE WASHINGTON SQUARE COLLEGE

IN 1894 the administration of New York University moved its educational activities in large part from the original building which had cradled its infancy and had seen it develop, to a new campus at University Heights. The old building at Washington Square was torn down, and in its place at the northeast corner of the Square was erected the present building, of which the larger portion of the floor space was occupied by the American Book Company, while the University retained only a small amount to house the Graduate School and the schools of Law and Pedagogy. Of their development and of the establishment of the School of Commerce it is not our place to speak, except to say that, had it not been for their need of providing academic preparation for their students, the Washington Square College might not have come into being.

In 1903 the need for academic or general college courses was felt sufficiently so that sporadic courses were given by various members of the Arts faculty of the University in what was called "the Collegiate Division." By 1913 a sufficient number of students was enrolled to warrant the reorganization of the Collegiate Division as the Washington Square College, of which the Chancellor of the University was the acting dean.

In the years between 1913 and 1918 there was no resident full-time faculty; but members of the faculties of other schools of the University gave a sufficient number of courses at Washington Square to establish a curriculum and to give the degrees of Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science. The

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students were in large part enrolled in the School of Pedagogy, so that the first graduates from the Washington Square College were teachers from the public schools of New York and New Jersey. It might have been regarded as an omen that the teachers should first undergo the academic training through which they were later to send thousands of their students; but in those days the educational problem of the City of New York as we now see it was by no means apparent. Nor did it seem probable that the old residential section surrounding Washington Square, which at that moment was rapidly being transformed into a manufacturing centre, would ever again be transformed not merely into a residential centre but into a university centre as well.

Yet once again the omens were there, could we but have interpreted them in the light of history. Over eight hundred years ago, trade began to bring prosperity to certain cities of Europe, and along the roads which led to the then scarcely acknowledged capital of France travelled not merely merchants but their scholar sons who went to Paris ostensibly to broaden their experience by absorbing the traditions of antiquity at the feet of learned men, then connected with the leading churches and other religious foundations of Paris. But they did not leave Paris as they found it. Within one hundred years the casually grouped classes of such teachers had been organized into a university. True it is that they had no special buildings, and that the classes gathered hither and yon on the slopes of Mont St. Geneviève; but the will to learn was there, and it was glorified not merely by the fire of youth—which ever flickers wildly and intermittently—but also by the calm white light of the faith of masters who learned that theirs was to be a new service which the church had not foreseen, but to which they had dedicated their lives.

It is a far cry from the medieval European university with its many schools and colleges to the modern urban

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university in the new world; but we believe that the similarity is greater than might at first appear. True it is that in this machine-made twentieth century, physical changes in environment are effected with a rapidity that the Middle Ages never knew; but the development at Washington Square of an educational centre which embraced an Arts college in response to a need voiced by a student population absolutely unforeseen either by the City Fathers or by the Founders of New York University, parallels rather clearly the answer to the demands made by the medieval students of Europe centuries ago. The students of those days wished to prepare either for teaching the arts or for the professions. Their successors favor the professions perhaps more strongly, but the demands are largely the same. And around them at Washington Square has begun to gather a new residential community—why, we cannot say, except that in the past such changes have always occurred—and this community has certain distinctive features which can be discovered by anyone who will look back over the chronicles of those medieval towns which housed universities.

Enough of the Middle Ages, although their true spirit has in it nothing of the antiquarian. About 1910 there began to rise from a new and unexpected quarter through our public schools a tide of educational demand. To America had come from Europe and from Asia thousands of immigrants. Those of the Jewish race settled chiefly in and about New York, and the same is true of those who came from countries adjacent to the shores of the Mediterranean. No matter what it cost, they were determined to obtain for their children whatever advantages education in the New World might confer. Experience, tradition, and adversity had taught them that wisdom and understanding are, on the whole, the best weapons with which to wage the battle of life. At any rate, they were determined that their children should have education.

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But when these children had been graduated from the city high schools, their parents were faced with a dilemma. For the majority it was traditional to keep the children at home until they married. The American tradition of sending children away to boarding-school or to college found no place in their hearts. They wished to maintain the home influence throughout the years of higher education.

In 1918 the facilities for higher education in New York City were not equal to this situation. Such private colleges as existed in and about the city had established their clientele and did not wish to alter their plans radically at the moment to meet this new demand. The municipal institutions did their best, but were soon overcrowded. Meanwhile ability to meet a tuition charge became less uncertain to the parents of this potential group of students because of the economic rise of industry and wages in America coincident with the World War. Accordingly large numbers of this new student group began to enter the Schools of Law and Commerce of New York University at Washington Square. With this professional training inevitably came the need for a general academic training, first as a concomitant, and second as a prerequisite.

In 1918, the Washington Square College, with the consent of the executive authorities of the University, determined to meet this need in so far as it was able. Dr. John Roscoe Turner, then Head of the Day Division of the School of Commerce, was appointed Dean. He began at once to gather a permanent full-time faculty whose primary attachment was to the Washington Square College. Between the years 1918-1920 he called to the College the following men, each of whom organized the work of the department listed after his name: Homer Andrew Watt in English, Wesley Daniel Zinnecker in German, Ernest Jackson Oglesby in Mathematics, Henry Stanley Schwarz in French, John Musser in History, Casper John Kraemer,

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Jr., in Classics, George Irving Finlay in Geology, and William Caruth MacTavish in Chemistry. These men were the first departmental chairmen of the College and most of them are still with the College in the same positions to which they were originally called. Under the foreseeing leadership of Dean Turner they met the problems with which the College was faced in 1918 when its student enrollment was suddenly augmented under the new impulse for a college education to which we have already referred, and they built the College from day to day in accordance with the needs of the new situation. The new program of the College began to appear in 1919, and perhaps it represents one of America's most genuine attempts to aid in the development of the new social order that the War in part motivated.

It is too often customary in our young country to estimate values and achievements by quantity. For us to say that in 1918 the student body of the College numbered less than six hundred and the faculty not more than ten, while in 1931 the student body numbered approximately seven thousand and the faculty four hundred, might meet the test which is popularly required for success. But as we view the development of the College from a survey of its history, we value to-day what we have tried to do, as expressed in that part of our ideals which we have realized successfully for our students. We know that there were many searchings of heart in those days—for, from 1918 on, two of my collaborators in this account taught on the faculty of the College, and I came in 1920. There was no endowment. The pioneer has ever extreme difficulty in obtaining material backers for his expedition. Such facilities as the University could place at our disposal were freely accorded. Suffice it to say that the development of the Washington Square College was made possible financially in large part by the faith of the parents of our students, who paid their children's

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fees. We owe our existence and our educational development in large part to their confidence and to that of the authorities of the University. The faculty of the College has tried to repay that confidence by educating the students sent them by these parents and entrusted to them by the University. Even to-day—since the College is still less than fifteen years old—the endowment of the College brings in annually about twenty-five dollars, and we depend for our financial existence almost exclusively upon student fees.

We do not, then, count our riches as material, and no educational institution should, in our opinion, do so. The essential physical facilities which made our work possible were provided largely from student fees. The University gradually permitted us to take over most of the main building, which stands on the site of the original building of New York University. To it has been added the Frederick Brown Building, through the far-sighted generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Brown. Theirs was the first large gift toward the work of the College, and we obtained renewed vigor from this evidence of their approval.

The educational policy of the College is perhaps the best summary of its history. A glance at the table of registration statistics appended below¹ will show the distribution of the student body over the past five years and the nature of their educational demands upon us. While many of the students have wished to prepare directly for business or for a profession, there has been a growing tendency on the part of the majority to prepare for either business or a profession by lengthening the time spent in college on acquiring a general education. As a result, a wholesome majority of our

	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
¹ General	2,315	2,832	3,666	4,023	4,099
Medical	730	785	991	1,164	1,274
Dental	212	305	405	529	497
Special	56	68	293	100	70
Other Schools	496	947	762	1,195	1,101

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students take a general four-year academic course leading to the bachelor's degree.

The faculty of the College established first what they believed to be a sound general curriculum for the student who desired a general education. With certain specific modifications this curriculum led to the degree of either Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science. The curriculum undergoes still — and we hope it will always undergo — such modifications as experience shows to be necessary for better college teaching and better educational results for the students. We could fill many volumes with reports upon our educational experiments and experiences, but this is not the time or the place for such a report. Suffice it to say that the education provided here was the result of a joint study, on the part of the faculty and students, of the educational problem facing an urban arts college of an urban university.

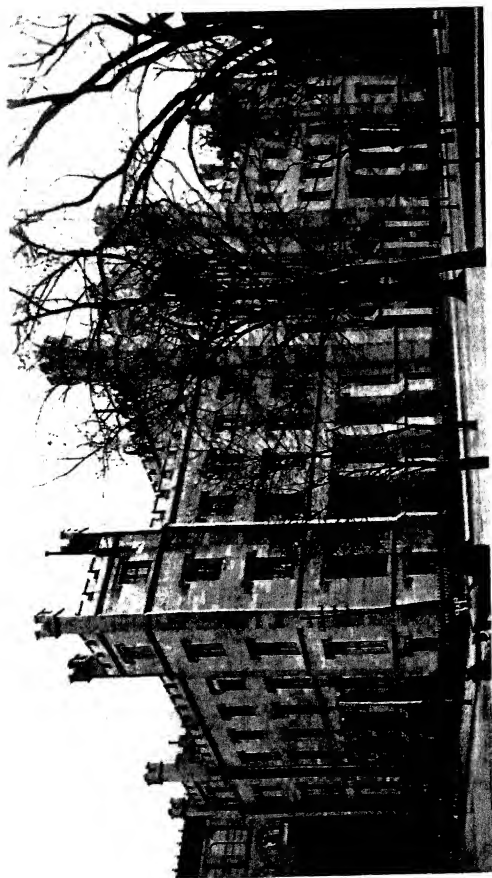
It was early apparent that, in addition to the normal four-year general college course leading to the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science, there must be added pre-professional curricula leading directly to the specific professional school and often interlocking with its curriculum. At present there are more than six of these curricula, associating us with professional curricula in Law, Commerce, Education, Medicine, Dentistry, Music, Fine Arts, and Journalism. Many of the faculty viewed with a concern acquired from their own educational training the granting of our degree to students who were taking in the third or fourth year of their supposed residence with us professional studies in a professional school, and counting some of these studies toward our Bachelor's degree, but we have all realized that the combination course is not merely a new and vital factor in our educational program, but that it is becoming widely recognized throughout American higher education.

Perhaps we have not theorized in this survey sufficiently

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about our work and our situation. We have been, we confess, inductive rather than deductive. But we have felt that we are on the firing-line of American education, facing what seems to us a new and peculiar problem with new and peculiar needs. We are now at the end of the first era of the development of the Washington Square College, and it seems to us to-day that Dean Turner and his faculty foresaw clearly in 1918 what were to be the essential problems of the College for the next decade, including its place in the University and its service in the community. If we were to phrase these beliefs, they would be: to serve the community of New York City educationally by providing a college education that shall prepare a student to live, and enable him to earn a living; to build our educational efforts around a general four-year college course, and to provide pre-professional courses leading to the various professional schools of the University; finally, and above all, to serve all members of the New York Community who desire a higher education, and whose previous education fits them for entrance to our College.

Our registration has represented and still represents a cross-section of the races that compose the population of New York City. We early determined to meet the need for a college education of any one competently equipped to meet our entrance requirements, in whose character we believed. The situation in which we found ourselves presented a great need for providing girls, as well as boys, with an education. Accordingly, the College has been co-educational from the beginning, and our organization is equipped to meet the requirements of this situation. All our courses, both general and pre-professional, are open to women. At present very many of the students who come to us are Jewish. It has been and is always a privilege to minister to their educational needs. Our experiences together over a period of ten years have been enlightening to the educa-



THE UNIVERSITY BUILDING AT WASHINGTON SQUARE.
As it looked shortly before its demolition

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tional outlook of the faculty, and, we hope, to that of the students.

There is a great temptation to emphasize the student factor in determining the growth of the College. In medieval education it was deemed sufficient to educate the minds of students, but in America to-day a college educates the student in body as well as in mind, and a college education includes physical and social education as well as mental education. In the Washington Square College the limitations of our physical facilities have made it almost impossible for us to care properly for the development of our students' bodies and for their social life. However, they have contrived their social life with an ingenuity and efficiency which would have commanded the respect and have aroused the amazement of their medieval ancestors. Although the majority of our student population live at home, yet they have a distinct and communal social life, which is contrived to rely not upon the facilities of the University, but upon those of the City. Whereas the average American college or university must provide its students with the elements of a social and cultural life, our students draw upon the greater and more natural cultural opportunities provided by the City. In short, the City is the cultural and social background of the New York college student, and while his formal education is provided by the College, his social education is derived largely from the City.

We have noticed recently a desire on the part of our graduates to continue with us for the higher degrees of Master of Arts or Science and Doctor of Philosophy. Although the curricula leading to these degrees are provided by the Graduate School, yet, as many of our faculty teach in the Graduate School, our students continue their graduate education with their former undergraduate instructors.

A parallel development is that of adult education. In recent years there has been an ever-increasing demand upon

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the College to provide special evening courses for older members of the community who do not meet our entrance requirements but who still wish to go on with their studies. Such classes have been organized by Dean Rufus D. Smith of the Extramural Division; but as he has also been Associate Dean and now is Dean of the Washington Square College, his courses have been conducted almost entirely by members of the faculty of the Washington Square College.

A final and significant development of the College has been its evening division, where students who are employed by day may obtain the bachelor's degree in five or six years. This is perhaps one of the most useful services we render the community. It has been a difficult problem to provide in the evening the equivalent of the day curricula, but the problem has been solved with discernment and understanding by Dean Rufus D. Smith and the faculty of the Washington Square College. The same faculty teaches both day and evening students.

In addition to their other activities, the faculty of the College have found it necessary to do research in order to perfect themselves for their teaching. Francis Bacon remarked that, while the good things of prosperity are to be desired, the good things of adversity are to be admired; and Dr. Johnson, in recounting to Lord Chesterfield the conditions under which he had brought to completion his English dictionary, had something to say about the many years during which he had been pushing on his work through difficulties of which it was useless to complain. The sentiments of these two gentlemen, we are thankful to say, have been our own. The difficulties to the accomplishment of excellent research work have often seemed insuperable—due almost exclusively to the lack of adequate library and laboratory facilities—but these difficulties have merely been the fire which tempered the steel.

As we look back upon the history of the College for the

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past ten years, we are thankful for the opportunity which has been vouchsafed us to serve this community educationally, and we have tried to justify the confidence reposed in us by the community. Such facilities as the University has accorded us we have used twelve months of the year, often fourteen hours a day. If the Washington Square College has been of genuine service to the community, and if it can be of further service, the material means will be found in endowment, buildings, library, and equipment to carry on its work in the future better even than it has been accomplished in the past. Our desire has been to provide the best education possible for the individual student, realizing that he must in large part educate himself. Yearly we are devising methods of instruction by which the student can work individually with his teachers or independently. With this purpose in mind we have introduced in several departments Honors courses leading to the bachelor's degree, with the possibility of the students' obtaining distinction at the completion of the course. Other academic distinctions which reflect credit upon our students are, first, the admission of the College to membership in Phi Beta Kappa, which membership the University College at the Heights now shares with us; and, second, the admission of the College to the "white list" of standard grade colleges issued by the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. We regard such recognition as an earnest of academic confidence in the future of the College.

Two remarkable statements about education need to be juxtaposed to counteract somewhat extreme tendencies in each; but when juxtaposed they represent rather well the direction in which college education is facing in America. Gibbon, in commenting upon the efforts of Marcus Aurelius to educate his son Commodus so that he could succeed him as Emperor of the Roman Empire, remarked, "But the power of instruction is seldom of much efficiency, except in

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those happy dispositions where it is almost superfluous." And Seneca, while pondering on what God must be like if He be at all comprehensible to Man, remarked, "God is the helping of one man by another; and that alone is the way to eternal glory." In like manner we desire to provide in the Washington Square College the opportunity for obtaining an excellent college education for whoever is determined to obtain it. The student must largely educate himself, under the guidance of the faculty, but we have learned that the mutual help resulting from such an association and common purpose is one of the most durable satisfactions of life.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

NON-ACADEMIC TENANTS OF THE OLD BUILDING AT WASHINGTON SQUARE

FROM the year in which the old University building in Washington Square was erected, it was the expectation of the Council that many of the rooms would be rented to societies and individuals; in fact, as we know, for many years the only income of the University, beyond tuition fees, was from such rents. The University building was, therefore, as Theodore Winthrop rather inelegantly expressed it, "half college and half lodging house."¹ Between 1835 and 1874, there were, in all, apparently about fifty-nine rooms in the main building, exclusive of the large and the small chapel; and in addition, east of the main building, two dwelling-houses, numbered respectively 32 Waverly Place and 31 Washington Place. The two dwelling-houses were intended as residences for the Chancellor and, perhaps, a Vice-Chancellor; one was, I believe, occupied by Chancellor Frelinghuysen, but they were ordinarily rented to private individuals. In 1870, of the fifty-nine rooms, six, on the first floor, were rented by the University Grammar School; thirteen, on the second floor, were occupied by the University College; the other forty, being the remaining rooms on the first two floors, and all of the third and fourth stories, were rented to outsiders. In 1871, with the closing of the Grammar School, the first floor was wholly given over to tenants. In 1874, Chancellor Mathews' "great Gothic chapel" was mercilessly divided into small rooms;

¹ Theodore Winthrop: *Cecil Dreeme*, p. 36.

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but I have been unable to discover the exact number of rooms this added to the rent-roll.

In the stricter sense, the story of the University's tenants under this system, from 1835 to 1895, is scarcely part of the history of the University. Had the old building been an ordinary lodging-house, the University historian would willingly pass over this episode in silence. The peculiar character of many of its tenants, however, makes the story not merely interesting, but even one from which New York University may secure a certain amount of borrowed glory; for many of its tenants were persons of considerable distinction, especially among the fine arts.

In November, 1835, before the University building was fully completed, the northwest tower room and five rooms on the floor beneath were rented² by Samuel F. B. Morse, who had been, as we know, appointed to the chair of Fine Arts in the University three years previously. He probably used the tower room as a studio (and laboratory for his experiments in telegraphy), lodged himself in one of the rooms below, and "sub-rented" the other four rooms to his students. He charged these students, we may add, the not exorbitant tuition fee of fifty-three cents a day! For seven years Morse occupied all or some of these rooms, and within them for a few years, at least, gave instruction in painting to pupils, almost all of whose names are unfortunately unknown to me.³ As late as November, 1839, indeed, he writes to Alfred Vail: "Having several pupils at the University, I must attend to them."⁴ Almost from the day he became the University's tenant, however, his attention was ever less

² It may be of interest to note that the annual rent for these six rooms was to be \$325. The material for this paragraph is to be found in an autograph letter from Professor Morse to Chancellor Mathews, dated February 12, 1836, preserved in the University archives.

³ Three are known to me; Messrs. Loomis and Wilgus, whom I am unable to identify further than by the fact that they abandoned their rooms at the University in February, 1836, because of their very leaky condition; and Daniel Huntington, later president of the National Academy.

⁴ S. I. Prime: *Life of Samuel F. B. Morse*, New York, 1875, p. 412.

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given to his students, and ever more to his experiments with telegraphy. As the number of his students declined, he apparently rented fewer rooms, until I believe that he occupied but one, a combined studio, laboratory, and bed-chamber;⁵ and that single room he apparently abandoned when he went to Washington in December, 1842, to request government aid for the telegraph. In that single room the electric telegraph was invented; provided, of course, that Professor Morse may properly be called the inventor. Exactly which room was "the birthplace of the telegraph," however, remains somewhat of a mystery, because of divergent traditions. One fact is positive, if Morse's memory was reliable: it was not the "Tower Room" in the northwest corner. In the course of his remarks made at the Alumni Association meeting in 1853, he stated that the room he had occupied was now "Philomathean Hall." I have found it impossible exactly to identify the location of "Philomathean Hall" in 1853. I am confident, however, that it was on the fourth floor; and, from Professor Morse's own remarks, that it must have been in the middle of the building, next to the large chapel.

We may safely assume, therefore, that it was the presence of Morse's studio which first attracted the younger artists to the University building, and that Daniel Huntington was among the very first artist tenants of the University, occupying a room there as early as November 15, 1835.⁶ When Morse left, the tradition had become fixed that New York University provided admirable quarters for artists of all kinds; and, until the old building was destroyed in 1894, it was the locus of two very different forms of human life—the college below, the studios above—and there was apparently a complete separation of interests, so that

⁵ The first rent-roll which is preserved in the University archives is for the year 1843; Morse's name does not appear upon it at all, and the statement made above is largely based upon conjecture.

⁶ Prime: *op. cit.*, p. 309.

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neither was interested in the other, and only the janitor came in contact with both.

It is, of course, impossible to speak in any detail of the individual artists who lived at the "University," or of the atmosphere of the studios. There are several sources for the latter to which interested readers may go. First of all, Theodore Winthrop's *Cecil Dreeme*, published in 1861, although written of course in novel form, gives a rather well-known picture of life at the "University."⁷ Two articles by Thomas Bailey Aldrich, in *Our Young Folks* for July and September, 1866, entitled "Among the Studios," give accounts of life at the University. A sketch of Mr. W. J. Hennessy's studio, given in the second of Mr. Aldrich's articles, is reproduced (opp. p. 402), as giving what I suppose to be the only picture of a studio in the old building. William H. Bishop, in *Scribner's Magazine* for January, 1880, in an article called "Young Artists' Life in New York" has something to say about the University; the chief interest of this article, however, lies in the fact that it is illustrated by six members of the Salmagundi Club, Messrs. Walter Shirlaw, W. Taber, H. P. Share, W. H. Shelton, M. J. Burns, and George Inness, Jr., all of whom, I believe, had their studios at the University. Three sentences from Mr. Bishop's article deserve quotation. "If something odd in the way of a studio be demanded, it may be found in the old-fashioned Tudor pile known as the University building, more singular now than when Winthrop found it an appropriate place for the location of *Cecil Dreeme*. The chapel has been divided by a floor at half its height, and this again by a few partitions. In the spacious upper chambers thus

⁷ It is commonly supposed that Theodore Winthrop lived in the University building himself. His name does not appear on the rent-rolls, all of which are preserved for the years (1855-61) during which he lived in New York; and his name appears for all those years as a resident of Staten Island. My own conjecture, based upon a careful reading of *Cecil Dreeme*, is that Winthrop was an intimate friend of Alexander J. Davis, a well-known architect, who did live in the building, and who, I think, was himself the designer of the University building.

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formed, the ribs and pendentives of the vaulted roofs still show, with a most ancient and baronial effect."

I now give a list of painters who at various times lodged or at least had their studios in the University building. My sources are the rent-rolls for the years 1853-1870, and the recollections of Messrs. Irving R. Wiles and Frederick Dielman. It is probable, therefore, that many well-known names are omitted.

Abbey, Edwin A. ^{9 10}	Inness, George ^{8 9 10}
Benson, Eugene ⁹	Johnson, Eastman ^{8 9 10}
Dewing, Thomas W. ^{9 10}	Minor, Robert ⁹
Dielman, Frederick ^{9 10}	Morse, Samuel F. B. ^{8 9 10}
Fowler, Frank ⁹	Richards, T. A. ^{8 9}
Hennessy, W. J. ⁸	Shattuck, A. D. ⁸
Herford, Oliver ¹⁰	Shirlaw, Walter ⁹
Homer, Winslow ^{8 9 10}	Twachtman, J. H. ^{9 10}
Hubbard, R. W. ^{8 9}	White, Edwin ⁸
Huntington, Daniel ^{8 9 10}	Wiles, Irving R. ^{9 10}

Tenants of some distinction whom I have noted, other than painters, are the following:

Henry T. Tuckerman, author of the *Book of the Artists*, New York, 1867.

Henry Harrisse, bibliographer and historian of the age of Columbus.

George Kennan, traveler and lecturer, author of *Siberia and the Exile System*.

Eugene Schuyler, diplomat and historian, author of *Peter the Great*.

Alexander J. Davis, architect, designer of the State capitols of Indiana, North Carolina, Illinois, and Ohio, of the Patent Office at Washington, and of the original buildings of the University of Michigan.

Samuel Colt, inventor of the revolver.

The real epic of the University building is told, however, not by an artist, but by Lyman Hotchkiss Bagg, of the Yale class of 1869, a journalist and, later, the librarian of the

⁸ Mentioned in Tuckerman, Henry T.: *Book of the Artists*, New York, 1867.

⁹ Mentioned in Isham, Henry: *History of American Painting*; revised by Royal Cortissoz, New York, 1927.

¹⁰ Mentioned in Mather, Frank J. et al: *The American Spirit in Art*; vol. 12 of *The Pageant of America*, New Haven, 1927.

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University Club of New York City, a tenant of the University from 1876 to 1894. In his *Ten Thousand Miles on a Bicycle*, published privately at the University Building, 1887, under the pseudonym of "Karl Kron," an entire chapter of forty-six pages is dedicated to life in "Castle Solitude in the Metropolis"; and in his own autobiography, printed in the *Biographical Records of the Yale Class of 1869*, vol. VI, pp. 24-32, 1895, he continues the story up to the destruction of the building. Both articles should be read entire by those interested in the old building; they are too long to quote. Suffice it to say that "Karl Kron" found the University building "the most sacred shrine in the habitable globe, the chosen abode of freedom."

APPENDIX B

LETTER OF ALBERT GALLATIN

DECEMBER 9, 1830

THE following extended quotation from a letter written by Albert Gallatin on December 9, 1830, to Josiah Quincy, President of Harvard College, and printed in the *Writings of Albert Gallatin*, edited by Henry Adams, Philadelphia, 1879, is reprinted here as being of peculiar interest to the history of New York University:

"I had the honor to receive your letter of Nov. 29, to which the necessity of employing the whole of my time in correcting a work for the press has prevented an immediate answer. The sketch of my observations on the subject of an English College before the late literary convention, is extremely incorrect, and in some respects perfect nonsense. I did not think it worth my while to disavow it, as a work is now in the press intended to contain the speeches delivered on that occasion, and the editor afforded me the opportunity of correcting mine. As I had spoken without notes, I was obliged to recur to the sketch in the newspapers as a kind of text, and I fear, though having kept no copy I cannot positively say, that I may have suffered the word 'honorable' which I did not use, to remain as an epithet of 'dismission.' With that exception, that work will be found to contain faithfully the substance of what I said. In the meanwhile I will, from memory, state the facts as correctly as I can.

"On the first or second day of the convention the question was discussed how far it might be beneficial to allow gen-

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erally students who were considerably in advance of the rest of the class to pass to a higher one without waiting the end of the year. It was in reference to that question that the president of the meeting, Mr. Bates of Vermont, after having stated some of the practical difficulties, mentioned the attempt that had been made at Harvard to subdivide the Freshman class into sections according to their acquirements, the dissatisfaction it has caused, and that the plan had been abandoned. In the course of his observations he stated, as I understood him, that some of the students, either withdrawn by their parents or applying for dismissal had said, with tears in their eyes, that they saw that they had mistaken their rate of talents, and that the time they had employed in their preparatory studies was lost to them. Mr. Bates made no application of this, nor any allusion whatever to the study of the dead languages.

“On the ensuing evening, wishing to bring some definite question before the meeting more intimately connected with our projected university than had been done, and particularly one embracing the difficulty of connecting together, as is intended, the study of sciences and letters carried to a higher extent than is usual in the colleges of this part of the country, with popular and general education for men not designed for liberal profession, I submitted the propriety of an English college to be attached to the university as a kind of preparatory school. As proposed by me at the time, it was to be at the same time a classical college, in which the study of the learned languages, kept distinct, was not to be obligatory. I have seen reasons sufficient to convince me that this mixture of young men pursuing different studies and with different objects would be attended with serious inconveniences, and that it would be preferable to keep the subjects distinct, not to interfere with the classical seminaries of learning as they now exist, and to make the proposition for a purely English college in which all the

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branches, with the exception of the learned languages, should be taught that are usually learned in our present colleges, a separate question. In that shape it is now under the consideration of the council of our intended university.

“One of my principal arguments was that nearly all our best high schools being intended to prepare boys for admission in our colleges, were in fact Latin grammar schools in which little else was taught; that parents who did not design their children for the liberal professions, had no choice but must send them to such academies; that I considered the time employed on learned languages by those who did not enter our colleges or otherwise pursue their studies, as lost to them, or at least of comparative inutility; that that time would be more advantageously employed in acquiring other knowledge useful in an active life; and that a college such as I proposed, and connected, as it would soon be, with corresponding preparatory schools, would satisfy the wants of a great part of the community, and also render the road to science more accessible. It was in order to sustain my assertion that the time now consumed by boys not destined for our usual colleges was lost to them, that I appealed to the fact mentioned by Mr. Bates; and I added, not as a fact, but as an inference of mine, that the reason why those boys considered the time employed in their preparatory studies a lost time, was because those studies had consisted principally in Latin and Greek, which, unless they pursued them farther, were of no use to them.

“Having but little experience in education, and no pretension to profound learning, I did not take part in the preceding discussion respecting the mode of tuition, and do not entertain the slightest hope of being able to suggest any improvement in that respect. My only object is what it professes to be, that of extending and improving English or popular education, so as to diffuse more widely than is done at present, among all those who are not destined for

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the liberal professions, some share of elementary mathematical, natural, and historical knowledge, as well as that of their own language and its literature. It did not enter within the scope of my observation to make any allusion (the single fact above mentioned only excepted) to Harvard University or to the studies pursued there. Had it been otherwise, I would have spoken of it with the respect justly due to the first, and, in every respect, most useful and enlarged seminary of learning in the U.S. I say nothing respecting my denying to classical learning any superiority over mathematics and science. That is a matter of opinion, and is not connected with your inquiry."



WILLIAM J. HENNESSY'S STUDIO
Located in the University Building
1866

APPENDIX C

LETTER OF TAYLER LEWIS

SEPTEMBER 24, 1862

THE following letter from Tayler Lewis, professor of Greek in New York University, 1838-1844, written to the Rev. T. W. Chambers, and printed in the latter's *Memoir of the Life and Character of the Late Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen*, New York, 1863, gives a valuable account of the second Chancellor's character and service:

"Union College, Schenectady
September 24, 1862

"My dear Sir:

"I can best give you my thoughts of Mr. Frelinghuysen by relating three phases of my experience in respect to him. It is now more than thirty years since he first excited my admiration by his course in the Senate of the United States, especially his speeches on the important questions that then arose respecting the Cherokee Indians, and the obedience due to the decisions of the United States courts. It is now known that the party since so clamorous about the soundness of judicial decisions was then in a state of direct hostility to the decrees of Marshall and Story—not merely, while obeying them, seeking their reversal by constitutional means, which is the political right, and may be the duty of the most conservative citizen, but bidding them direct defiance, encouraging the President in his refusal to execute their issued process—in other words, nullifying them both in the letter and the spirit. In his speeches on these occa-

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sions, Mr. Frelinghuysen showed a knowledge of constitutional law equal to that of Webster; but that was the least part of their merit. The Democratic party had enlisted on its side the irreligious element in our land, and it was in rebuking this that the senator from New Jersey rose above all others in that deeply interesting debate. Here was something new in that Senate. Christianity had been often mentioned with approbation, but here was an exhibition of its very spirit and powers. There was something in the tone of those speeches, able as they were in other respects, which showed that religion was there in their midst—hearty, fervent, evangelical religion—religion as a higher law, first and before all things, instead of that mere political patronizing of Christianity which is so common among our public men. It is very easy to put forth the usual commonplaces about ‘our holy religion,’ and the value of Christian institutions, and the ‘importance of morality and virtue as the foundation of all good government.’ Men may say this, men have said it, and are fond of saying it, who are not religious, and who are not even moral. It is always safe to talk this way; it is sometimes a very popular course; it gains favor on the one side, while, by throwing in a word now and then about bigotry, and the ‘preservation of our religious liberties’ now so much imperiled, it is careful to lose no ground on the other. This patronizing style assumes, too, at times, a profound and philosophical look; it affects to go below the surface of things; there seems presented a statesmanlike, senatorial view of religion, with which we are wonderfully pleased as coming from such a source; and yet, after all, there is no heart in it, and even the knowledge it displays, though magnified from its position, is often less than many a teacher imparts, and many a child acquires, in the Sabbath-school room.

“No one, however, would thus judge of Mr. Frelinghuysen. The living know the living. ‘The spiritual man is

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judged of no one (who is not spiritual), while he himself judgeth all things.' But, aside from this, even the worldly and the irreligious have a faculty for detecting the genuine here. They feel how much it differs from that which is either wholly false, or but a passing sentimental emotion. Mr. Frelinghuysen's soul was in these speeches. He was pleading for Christ his Savior. The religious aspects of the questions were to him the main aspects; the social and political had their value in subordination. Justice, humanity, national faith — ever to be esteemed the stronger when pledged to the weak—the forms of treaties, the substantial truth of covenants—all these were treated, not merely in their humanitarian economies, but as strictly religious—as having their sanctions from their never-to-be-sundered connection with the invisible and the eternal.

"It was, indeed, a noble effort, characterized, too, by the highest eloquence of thought and language. The next thing I read of Mr. Frelinghuysen's was an address before one of the national religious societies in New York. It was a very different theatre, but the same man unchanged in thought and utterance. Here, too, the mere politician has, now and then, put forth his patronizing platitudes; but here was Mr. Frelinghuysen especially at home—more at home than in the Senate of the United States. Never did the union of these two characters, the statesman and the Christian, seem so perfect. The man who had enchained the attention of the highest political audience now pleads the cause of missions and of Bible distribution with the soul of a martyr. It was no mere talk about the political economies of religion, the 'patriotism of Christianity,' its statistical and commercial benefits; it was no gracious presentation of thanks on the part of the State for the Church's good conduct, and its excellent police aid in the preservation of order and property; it was no mere harangue on the physical or secular good of the Sabbath, and the duty of all respectable

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people to respect it on that account; it was no empty laudation of missions and missionaries as the pioneers of civilization—its subject was none of these, except as lying far below in the scale of subordination, but ‘life, life, eternal life’ for perishing men and a perishing world. Instead of such cold secularities, his whole soul was on fire with the intensest spiritualities of the Christian argument. The union of the two characters was delightful. It raised my admiration of the man to the highest pitch. I read with eagerness every thing that fell from his mouth on every occasion, secular or religious. And this may be called my first phase of experience.

“In the year 1839 Mr. Frelinghuysen was appointed Chancellor of the New York University. I had been connected with the institution a few months before. It need not be said how strong was the interest felt at the thought of being associated with such a man. Nor was the first meeting a disappointment. The personal appearance was noble, commanding, equal to any thing that had been imagined respecting it. The inaugural address was worthy of the speaker’s high reputation. But when we entered upon the daily routine of college life and discipline, I must confess some change of feeling. This man, who, I thought, would fill me with awe and reverence, was found to have his humanities, and close contact sometimes brought them out unpleasantly. We had expected one who would take the lead commandingly, and under whose influence the institution would immediately take the highest rank. Such an expectation was, of course, unreasonable. Colleges are of slow growth. We ought to know that this would be the case in our own country, when we remember that the universities of the Old World are the production of centuries. True education can not be accelerated by outward forcing, or by calling to its patronage the highest influence of great names. There was no disappointment in regard to his pub-

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lic efforts; but it is to his private intercourse with us that I have now chiefly reference. This was, indeed, of the most pleasant kind, viewed merely in its social aspects. Never shall I forget the beautiful harmony of our faculty meetings as they were weekly held for nearly eleven years. We were of various denominations in religion. There was Dr. C. S. Henry, a profound thinker, an admirable writer, a noble man in every way, but a churchman of towering altitude, even as his eloquent appeals now place him in the front rank of loyalty and patriotism. There was Professor Johnson, a man of the most precise New Englandism, but whose Latin and German scholarship were unsurpassed in our country. There was Professor Draper, of European celebrity; Nordheimer, the distinguished Orientalist, and 'an Israelite truly in whom there was no guile.' There was Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Dutch Reformed, Free-thinking (I use the term in no offensive sense), Old School, and New School; but in our weekly meetings there was the most perfect brotherhood of thought and action. Mr. Frelinghuysen presided so kindly, so genially, that there could be nothing sectional or sectarian in his presence. We all had our isms in theology, in philosophy, and even in pedagogy; but in our stated college associations there was the most perfect catholicity. Though formal to some extent in mode, they were wholly informal and social in their spirit. Mr. Frelinghuysen was fond of treating things in a familiar, conversational manner, though no one could be more impressively dignified when the occasion demanded it. He had a touch of humor, quite a fund of anecdote, and, in a word, that easy sociability, such a well-known trait of gentlemen of the bar, and which Mr. Frelinghuysen brought with him from his long practice in the courts of New Jersey. All this was very pleasant, but still not in exact accordance with my high expectations. It was not the commanding character imagination had pictured. I would not retract

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the word already used; it was, indeed, a fault in this great man and this pure Christian that he had a way of so constantly deferring to others. It was the carrying to excess the apostle's precept: 'Let each man esteem others better than himself.' There were times when he would rise, and we saw before us the man who had commanded the United States Senate; but he was not now with politicians and corrupt party schemers, and amid scenes that would arouse the eloquence of his indignant rebuke. Surrounded by a small company of literary men and teachers, he sat in our midst as *primus inter pares*, or rather, as one who sought to learn from others rather than command, and who would substitute their professional knowledge for his own wide and catholic experience. In other things, too, there was that about him which disturbed the too enthusiastic pre-judgment. How strong must this man be in Christian faith, I used to think! What a privilege to lean upon his steady arm, to have the benefit of his Christian counsels and Christian experience! Here was, at first what must be acknowledged as a disappointment. He was fond of religious conversation, and frequently drew one or the other of us into it in the most familiar way. Often was it my privilege thus to converse with him, sometimes in his own scholastic apartment, sometimes sharing his long daily walk and, on a few occasions, in his chamber of sickness. He imparted strength, but not in the way I had expected. He was an admirable illustration of the apostle's paradox: 'When he was weak, then was he strong'; and 'out of his weakness' were made strong those who enjoyed the privilege of this blessed Christian intercommunion. Mr. Frelinghuysen had difficulties in his religious life, in his personal experience, and he would freely tell them. His whole soul was in the pilgrimage to the New Jerusalem. Still, he was but a '*seeker of salvation*.' This was ever the form of his thought and the spirit of his language. He hardly dared to take to himself

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any other title. Of course, there was no allusion to the services he had rendered the cause of Christ. He did not think of them. His mind was ever upon his demerits, his deficiencies. It was no mock humility. The prayer of the publican was ever in his heart and often upon his lips. He was continually asking others about their experience, their difficulties, the comforts and grounds of their faith. This was not for the obtaining of comparative confidence, but because his true Christian soul loved thus to commune with others whom he esteemed as Christians, and to regard himself and them as a company of earth-weary, heaven-seeking pilgrims, marching hand in hand, and mutually holding each other up through 'sloughs of despondency' and over 'hills of difficulty,' and in evil-haunted vales of temptation, until at last the heavenly land is reached by all, the weakest as well as the strongest in the land.

"I have endeavored to give you my exact impression of the man—an impression I would not now exchange for any former ideal of the statesman. The habit I have mentioned of his continual deference to others was a hindrance to his literary success; it prevented his having that commanding influence he might have exercised, and should have exercised on the faculty and the college, and therefore it was that the first contact with these failures of character, if I may so call them, produced disappointment. He fell in reverence, while he rose in love; and this is what I may call my second phase of experience respecting him.

"Still, the man of power was there; the man of eloquence the believing soul, large and loving. As a Christian, he must, of course, be humble, but I had not looked for such a palpable exhibition of it. This feeling of disappointment was not of long continuance. It seems now, however, that it was necessary to a just appreciation of just such a character. I should never have known how true a Christian Mr. Frelinghuysen was had there been nothing but the

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first knowledge of him as a senator and Christian orator. It was necessary to see how very human he was in some respects, if we would see the beauty of that divine life which shone through this humanity so conscious of its weakness, so ever seeking help even from others who needed for themselves his wiser and stronger guidance. This was the *third* phase of the writer's experience respecting him. Mr. Frelinghuysen was a great man, a statesman, an orator seldom surpassed at the bar or in the Senate. He was a Christian man, hearty and true. He was a very humble Christian man, and in this lies the very essence of his greatness.

“Yours truly,

[signed] “TAYLER LEWIS

“REV. T. W. CHAMBERS, D.D.”

APPENDIX D

ADDRESS OF CHANCELLOR FERRIS

JULY 18, 1870

THE following extract from the minutes of the New York University Council, July 18, 1870, containing the address made by Chancellor Ferris upon presenting his resignation, is published for the first time:

"Chancellor Ferris then presented his resignation in the following words:

" 'MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL:

" 'This is to me a most solemn occasion—one to which I have looked forward with unusual feelings and with prayer for Divine Guidance. Seventeen and a half years ago you called me to the place I now occupy, committing to me a most important and responsible trust. You found me in the pastoral charge of a people among whom I had labored for fifteen and a half years, with the blessing of God on my labors, and where every interest flourished, and where I had the warm affection of every one in my flock, rich and poor, parents and children, old and young. It was a life I loved. Your call came to me most unexpectedly, and when I had declined the use of my name most positively as a candidate for several important positions whose friends addressed me. Your call, urged by one whose name will ever be dear to me, (I refer to Mr. William B. Crosby, who was once one of you) sent me to my knees for light and aid.

" 'I came to you after the most careful examination of the question of duty. Having decided that, I gave myself entirely to your work. If I had any ripeness of experience,

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of character, of reputation, of influence in this City, in my own denomination, in literary and educational matters, you had it all.

“Seventeen years and over have passed, and all have found me working for your interests as if they were my own. The discouragements and difficulties at the outset were fearfully great—mine was a toil by day and by night. An aching heart and sleepless nights were my familiar friends. I found I had become involved in what some of the best friends of the institution and members of this Council regarded as next to hopeless.

“It is all over now; through the blessing of a gracious providence, the work has been done.

“In the present hour there is not a little of sadness, as it involves the severance of pleasant ties which have been gathering strength with years, and the giving up of work which has become an enjoyment. Such an hour I have expected sooner or later. A kind providence has carried me with unbroken constitution near to the close of my seventy-second year; such an age I cannot realize, for my work has been, and is, as abundant and pleasant as work was thirty years ago. But the breaking down time must come, and my thought has been for two years past, that I would prepare for it when in most favorable circumstances, before senility and infirmity should come upon me. In this view I committed my conclusions to the President, Mr. Green, eight months since in a private way.

“This hour has its sadness, but it has its reminiscences which are very pleasant and precious.

“It is pleasant to recall, how I was enabled through the blessing of God on labors whose severity I will not undertake to recite, to relieve your institution from an indebtedness exceeding \$87,000 which had long hung over it as a death-pall, and which filled your minds with most gloomy apprehensions: a case of success, intelligent men have as-

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sured me, which was, and is without a parallel in the history of literary institutions in this country.

“So too it is pleasant to recall how I was enabled to cheer the hearts of the Professors of Science by raising for their use, in the increase and repair of their deficient and dilapidated apparatus, the sum of \$2,500.

“It is pleasant to recall how your noble Edifice was repaired from roof to cellar, and the Council had a beautiful room prepared for them, worthy of them, and of the institution; and the whole finally paid for, by my assuming the last claim amounting to \$865.

“I can never forget how I was the agent in receiving the liberal donation of Mr. Loring Andrews of \$100,000 and arranging by his expressed wish its distribution, so that it should accomplish the most good for the University, (a distribution which called out the warm thanks of the Faculty). Also, that of Mr. Geo. Griswold of \$10,000 to complete a Professorship to perpetuate the name of that prince of merchants, his father George Griswold; and that of Mr. Jas. Suydam, which from being of no market value at the time I was at length enabled to convert into \$7,000 worth of interest paying Bonds. So that as the result of all in which I have been a participant, and the endowments of the President, of Mr. Johnston, and of Messrs. Brown and Dodge the salaries of the full Professors have risen from about \$1,200 in 1852, to \$3,000 per annum in 1869.

“It is pleasant to recall with what unanimity you adopted my plan for adding other Departments or Schools for Science and Art, to the Classical, which have been working their way pleasantly for fourteen years; thus accomplishing to a degree the declared aim of the founders of the University on the subject of an enlarged and liberal education.

“It is pleasant to recall how many young men whose circumstances forbade their staying through a full course,

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have, through various periods of one, two, or three years, pursued selected studies, and though not graduating, have entered life with excellent preparation for its duties. It is a great mistake to measure the success of such an institution as ours by the number of its graduates.

“Nor will it be less pleasant to remember how I have been able to take worthy, though poor young men by the hand, and sometimes to raise money to keep them in the institution; and more frequently to find them opportunities for giving private instruction, thus helping them on. The benediction of not a few such is mine.

“To see how year after year, the policy I recommended of dividing commutation expenses with parents; and our arrangements with the Boards of Education of Brooklyn and Jersey City have been the means of bringing students from our rural suburbs, and enlarging the number of our scientific and eclectic course students, is most pleasant.

“To remember that no pains or personal labor have been spared, to make the liberal course of the University known to clergymen of all denominations within fifty miles of the city, and annually to send the Catalogue to every Boys’ School (Boarding & Day) within 70 miles, will be pleasant.

“And especially, among my most pleasant reminiscences will be the fact that we have had no controversies to wage through the public press, or any others. Alas how sad, how baleful, even down to my day, were those of the times of the first Chancellor, and that of a President of the Council with that man of rare excellence, the second Chancellor. Ours has been a reign of peace, of good feeling, of mutual confidence and coöperation, though we have as an institution suffered, and do suffer, from the effects of the past newspaper and pamphlet war. Indeed, I have been amazed that the University has lived through it all.

“With my pleasant memories, I shall have hopes: hope, that you will find one to follow me a thousand fold better

ADDRESS OF CHANCELLOR FERRIS

qualified than I, in the full vigor of life and energy, whose merit shall be felt and appreciated on every side. And it rejoices me to think that he will be relieved from what my experience leads me to call the horrible work of begging money to pay old scores, and in his success in this, securing the means of paying his own salary. And may I not hope that he will be relieved from the unscholarly work of supervising the rental of apartments; the repairs of the building, down to the obstructions of closets; and the certification of Mechanics' Bills before they can pass a Finance Committee.

“‘I look for a new era, of united effort, of large liberality, of individual devotion; and when your corps of Alumni, glowing with love for their “Alma Mater” will copy the admirable example of similar Bodies in some other institutions, whose record of this year is, that to glowing speeches and strong resolutions, and special committees, were added *thousands of dollars* for new endowments.

“‘And I shall look for a new era in the department of instruction, when every man will have *heart* to work, and nothing will be coldly perfunctory, and your bench of happy Professors seen daily in Chapel Service will make students appreciate the privilege and duty of daily prayers and thanksgiving—and the quarterly inquiry shall no more be “what will the Finance Committee divide this term,” but the liberal provision made will make earnest men.

“‘My hope is that you may be crowded with students, and all expectations in this direction answered. Though, alas, there are causes in operation in all commercial centres, and additional special ones in ours, which forbid the rush of many hundreds to the Halls of any institution, except sustained by municipal resources. But none can tell what may be the results in five years of the policy which was introduced two years ago, and already works well.

“‘And now gentlemen, one thing more remains, and that is, (with these reminiscences and hopes) the solemn act of

HISTORY OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

demitting the office I have held so long, and of returning to you the commission with which by your unanimous vote I was honored in 1852.

“While this matter has been much in my mind and at the utmost I had only thought of filling up a round twenty years’ service, my mind has been brought to a definite conclusion through a special interview with Mr. John Taylor Johnston, the chairman of your special committee appointed in May last to consider and report on the best means of increasing the interest in the University; an interview sought by him in connection with an invitation to dine with him, and have a University talk. My hospitable and kind friend, for he has always been such, in the interview which followed intimated among other things, that some great changes might be required in accomplishing the object in view, and that it might be desirable to place a younger man in the place I occupied. He found me prompt to say, “that I was at any time ready to retire, whenever it might be deemed best, that I was conscious though in full health, that an advanced age of over threescore years and ten was a disadvantage, and I would cheerfully open the way for a successor if the Council would only place me in the condition in which they found me as to support, and I would further beg them to make up to me what I had sacrificed in University connection of my own means, (amounting through legal proceedings, the result of another’s failure, to \$2,000).”

“I reflected prayerfully on this interview and have decided to resign my official and professorial place. And I now hereby cheerfully do so, on the basis which I named to Mr. Johnston, which I have been privately assured would be acceptable, for I regard him as holding such interview by arrangement, or with the assent of the Committee of which he was the chairman.

“Wishing you every blessing and thanking you for all

ADDRESS OF CHANCELLOR FERRIS

the kindness and marks of regard I have uniformly enjoyed
through the years I have been with you,

“ ‘I am yours truly,

[signed] “ ‘ISAAC FERRIS.

“ ‘New York, July 18th 1870.’ ”

APPENDIX E

THE LABORATORY CLOCK

THE following sketch was written in 1927 by Daniel W. Hering, emeritus professor of Physics, and at present curator of the James Arthur Clock Collection. It gives an entertaining account of his experiences during the first year (1885-6) of his service at New York University, and is an excellent document for the history of the University College:

A new chair had been established and a new professor appointed to fill it. There had always been a professor of Chemistry and a chemical laboratory—that was “the laboratory” without further qualification—but latterly, somehow, the trend of scientific thought had brought Physics more into the limelight and now it, too, must have its professor and its laboratory. Both were novelties, and when the new professor arrived he found awaiting him friendly, encouraging colleagues who were somewhat curious, perhaps, as to what he would do, and also a classroom and a considerable cabinet of apparatus for lecture demonstrations. And that was all. Not so much as a pin for his laboratory or a penny to equip it—certainly nothing so elaborate as a clock. Preceding professors who had distilled some essence of Physics for the students rather as a by-product of Mathematics, Chemistry, and Astronomy, were more than willing to leave new ways of doing things for new men to do them, and had been content to rely upon Matthews’ Chinese gong for changing classes, and upon their watches for other reckoning of time.



UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS AND
WASHINGTON HEIGHTS IN 1782
From a British Headquarters Map

THE LABORATORY CLOCK

But there was plenty of good will all around, and before long means came to hand—scanty but better than nothing at all.

There was abundant opportunity for the new professor to exercise such handicraft as he was master of, and Satan had no chance to spread mischief through idleness. Little by little the equipment grew. Glass tubes were blown and bent and fitted to service. A small lathe and kit of tools with rods of metal soon brought special pieces of working apparatus, and much of the demonstration outfit did duty for the small laboratory sections of students; but the professor wanted a good timepiece—not only a clock to tell the time but a regulator; one that could give signals for such experimenting as required accurate intervals of time. The price of a good standard laboratory clock was quite beyond the means of the department, so the professor hied him to the offices of the Seth Thomas Company to see whether he could not get a good clock movement, unmounted, even if he should have to put his hand a little way into his own pocket—it was not the first time and probably would not be the last.

The Seth Thomas people met the professor cordially. In conference with their foreman he selected an eight-day movement with seconds pendulum and dead-beat escapement, but without dial or case. From a few boards which he obtained at a neighboring carpenter shop he constructed a plain, decent looking case (except the sash door, for which he enlisted the help of the carpenter), and within this case the clock was securely mounted. Among the demonstration apparatus was a mercury-compensated pendulum—a good enough model but too short for the professor's use. He extended the rod and also the mercury cell to the proper length for a seconds pendulum, and put this in the clock in place of the light wooden one. Then he contrived metal contacts and connections for electric circuits, and led wires

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to laboratory tables where, by means of telegraph sounders, students could read seconds from the clock pendulum. Just across the hall from the Physics room was the Council room with the Chancellor's office. The professor led wires into this room to an electric bell, and fixed contacts on his clock so that the Chancellor might have the bell signals at certain hours. A moderate addition to the clock weight enabled the works to perform the additional labor thus imposed upon them. Thus the primary purpose of this clock was served. The usual function of a clock—to indicate the time of day—was secondary here, but it was accomplished by the addition of a dial which the professor made of heavy cardboard appropriately numbered for hours, minutes, and seconds; and with this in place the clock became at once a standard timepiece for professors and students and a valuable part of the laboratory equipment.

Not to fail in an important matter which a guide always points out, we may add that this cost the Physics department just about twelve dollars.

By 1891 the clock had acquired the flavor of antiquity; to the students of that date who knew nothing of its history it seemed ancient; in the 1892 *Violet* a member of that class wrote these sympathetic verses, with a characteristic drawing by C. A. Bill:

OUR OLD-FASHIONED CLOCK

Unvaried in feature, the same through the years,
In monotone, rhythm and rhyme,
Chanting through daylight and darkness alike,
The mystical passage of time.
Glad to the joyous the flight of thy hours,
Solemn when mourners they mock,
Swift to the happy and slow to the sad
Come the words of our old-fashioned clock.

Unquestioned in ruling—the lord of thy realm
Thy subjects most humble obey,

THE LABORATORY CLOCK

And over the eager and slothful alike
Thou reignest with absolute sway.
Senior and Freshman, Junior and Soph,
The wise and the gay of thy flock,
Professor and student acknowledge the rule
Of the old-fashioned, Physics-room clock.

Came a time when "old things passed away and all things became new"; when van and truck after van and truck transported the equipment from downtown to a loftier site with brighter prospects, and the clock shared in the better conditions. A few years later it was once more removed to a dominant position in a more considerable laboratory; and in the growth and stir and great progress of the years following, it contributed its full share. For thirty years it went its deliberate, assured pace — never hurried, never lagging—an unfailing resource of the professor and a constant servant of the students, but eventually unequal to the greater demands of the enlarged laboratory.





In the natural course of events the new professor became the old professor; he withdrew from active duty and gave place to younger men, and his faithful servant missed him sorely. The pendulum ceased to swing, for its heart (or at least its spring) was broken, and the clock, too, was retired—but not with the encomiums and kind words that had attended the professor upon his retirement. Ignominiously it was thrust into a dark corner in the cellar, along with junk, and there it gathered dust for nearly ten years in solitude and neglect. Then, like the sunset glow that gives a wonderful glory to alpine peaks, light broke upon the desolate clock in its gloomy cell, and from its subterranean solitude it was translated to celestial companionship. A distinguished horologist donated to the University a splendid collection of timepieces which he had gathered in a lifetime of careful selection; and the professor, now retired *emeritus*, received the proud distinction of appointment as its curator and glad

HISTORY OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

he was to rescue his earlier friend from neglect, and give it a place among these valued pieces—a place befitting its character and record.

Although no longer a monitor of the Physics laboratory, the old clock to-day ticks on faithfully and uncomplainingly, content with the approval of the old professor. Long they had pulled in harness together. Surrounded now by notables—clocks that had chimed for Royalty and watches that had adorned ladies of fashion—the laboratory clock, simple in case and plain of face, stands as proudly independent as any western pioneer or as any of the great Americans commemorated in bronze in the Colonnade near by; yet as modest withal as a New England statesman.

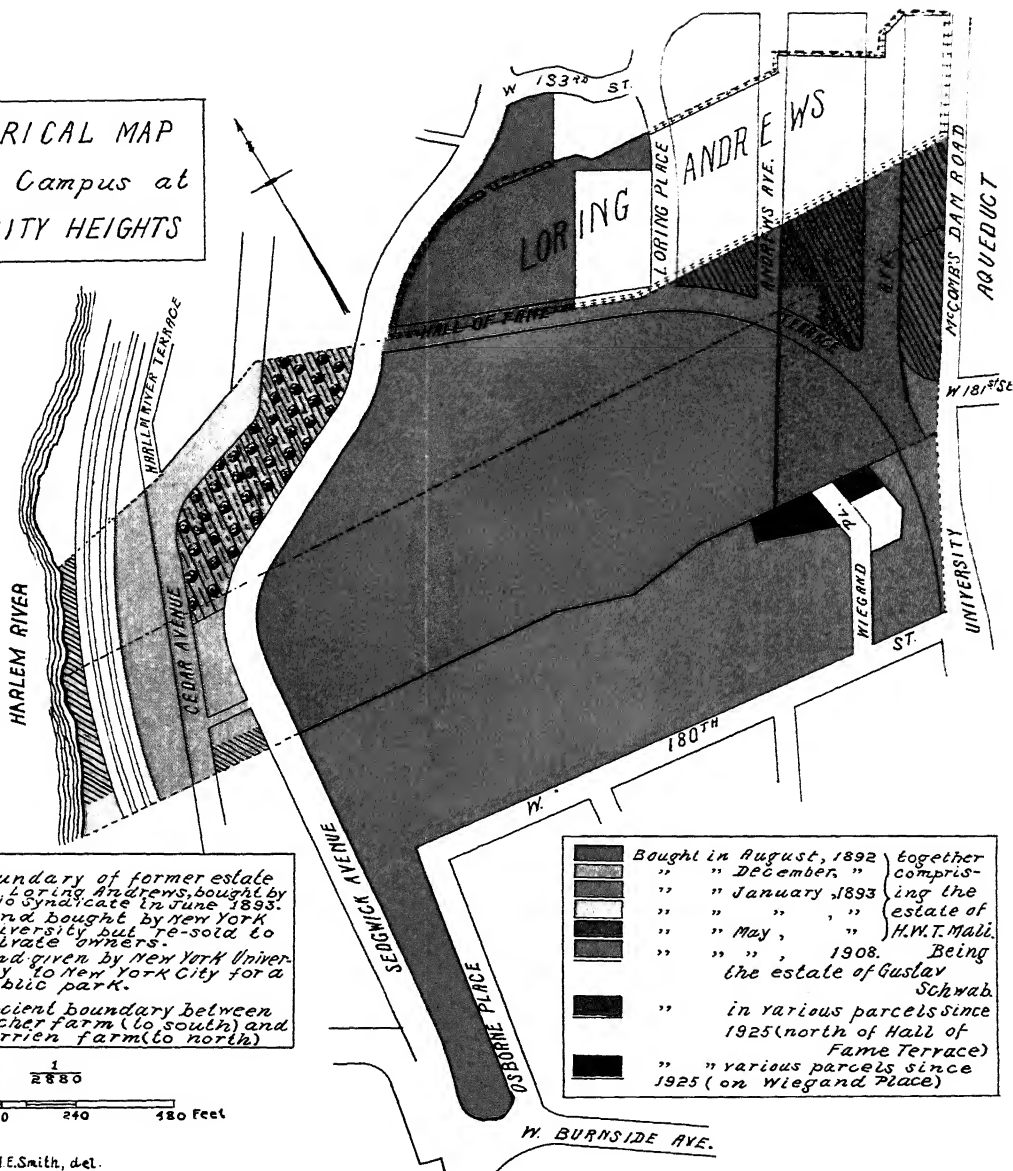
HISTORICAL MAP of the Campus at UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS














 Boundary of former estate of Loring Andrews, bought by Ohio Syndicate in June 1893.
 Land bought by New York University but re-sold to private owners.
 Land given by New York University to New York City for a public park.
 Ancient boundary between Archer farm (to south) and Berrien farm (to north)

Scale $\frac{1}{2880}$

60 240 480 Feet

H.E. Smith, del.



 Bought in August, 1892 together
 " " December, " comprising
 " " January, 1893 the
 " " " " estate of
 " " May, " H.W.T. Mall.
 " " " " 1908. Being
 " " " " the estate of Guslav
 " " " " Schwab
 " " in various parcels since
 " " 1925 (north of Hall of
 " " Fame Terrace)
 " " various parcels since
 " " 1925 (on Wiegand Place)

APPENDIX F

A HISTORY OF THE CAMPUS AT UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS

THE historical interest of the campus at University Heights is such that an attempt should be made to trace its title back to its first white owners. The process is not easy; for until comparatively recently deeds were not recorded in New York with the care and thoroughness characteristic of certain New England states. The following sketch is based upon a study of titles which has extended over several years; but, as will soon be observed, the results are not as precise as would be desirable.

In the first place, it should be noted that the present University Heights lay in the County of Westchester from the formation of that County in 1683 until the annexation of the west Bronx to New York City and therefore to New York County in 1874. By the act of March 7, 1788, Westchester County was divided into townships; by this act, University Heights lay in the township of Westchester. In 1846, that township was divided, and all its land west of the Bronx River (including the two former manors of Fordham and Morrisania) was organized into the township of West Farms. In 1874, as has already been suggested, the township of West Farms was annexed to New York City; and, until the annexation of the rest of the old township of Westchester in 1895, West Farms was generally known as the "Annexed District." Until 1874, therefore, all transactions in real estate upon the present University Heights were recorded, if at all, at White Plains.

HISTORY OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

The whole of the Borough of the Bronx was apparently included in the sale of land "called Keskeskeck," made by certain Indian sachems on August 3, 1639, to the Dutch West India Company. The northern portion of Keskeskeck was soon purchased from the Company by the Jonkheer van der Donck,¹ but his purchase apparently did not extend south of Spuyten Duyvil. University Heights seems not to have been taken up by settlers until John Archer settled near Kingsbridge in 1669. On November 13, 1671, this same John Archer secured from Governor Lovelace the grant of the manor of Fordham, to include 1,250 acres, for an annual quit-rent of twenty bushels of peas. Fordham Manor, as thus granted to John Archer, was bounded by the Harlem and Bronx Rivers, to west and east, to the north by a line from Spuyten Duyvil to Williamsbridge, and to the south by the line of Morrisania from High Bridge to West Farms.

John Archer soon fell on evil days, and was in 1676 obliged to mortgage his entire manor of Fordham to Cornelius Steenwyck. Steenwyck apparently foreclosed the mortgage; for at his death in 1684 he bequeathed the entire manor to the Dutch Reformed Church of New York (otherwise known as the Collegiate Church) for its perpetual support. The second John Archer relinquished all his rights in the manor to Steenwyck's widow in 1685; and in 1696 she and her second husband conveyed in turn all of their interests to the Collegiate Church.²

After 1685, then, the title to Fordham Manor seems to have been wholly in the hands of the Collegiate Church, which was incorporated by the Crown on May 11, 1696, and given the right to hold real property.³

The manor was occupied by farmers who were tenants of

¹ From his title is of course derived the name of Yonkers.

² *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 2, pp. 888-90, 1111-1112.

³ *Ecclesiastical Records*, vol. 2, p. 1146. The quit-rent to the Crown for the manor was fixed at 20 bushels of wheat a year, *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 2242.

A HISTORY OF THE CAMPUS

the Church; although, even during the period of Church ownership, there is some evidence for the existence of a few small freeholders in the manor. The rent-rolls are apparently lost; but among the tenants were surely the descendants of John Archer,⁴ whose farm in general probably stretched northward from the present Burnside Avenue to the latitude of the Gould Memorial Library, and from the Harlem eastward to the line of Jerome Avenue.

On February 25, 1755, the Lords of Trade confirmed an act of the New York Colonial Assembly, passed on December 12, 1753,⁵ granting the petition of the Collegiate Church to sell its freehold in Fordham Manor; and in the course of the next eight years, the Church sold its property there. The records of its sales are preserved in the Archives of the Collegiate Church (Book 13); and it should be easy to identify the purchaser of the University Campus. The Church records, however, appear to me incomplete and the property seems to have been passed rapidly from one purchaser to another without any formality of recording the deed.

It can with some certainty be stated, however, that in 1756 Jacob Dyckman bought from the Church a farm of about 200 acres, stretching east from the Harlem River to Webster Avenue, and north from West 176th Street to Burnside Avenue; and that in 1768 Dyckman sold this farm—containing the future "Morris Heights"—to Richard Morris, brother of Lewis Morris, lord of the manor of Morrisania, and half-brother of Gouverneur Morris. Lewis Morris himself bought from the Church in 1759, 1200 acres which stretched from High Bridge to Bailey Avenue and from the Harlem River to Kingsbridge Road and Arthur Avenue (excluding his brother Richard's farm).

In 1764 Lewis Morris sold to Donald Morrison a large

⁴ Cf. *Ecclesiastical Records*, vol. 3, p. 2121.

⁵ Printed in *Laws of the Colony of New York*, vol. 3, pp. 983-992.

HISTORY OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

with fine trees, gardens, and orchards. The domestic life in the Schwab home, and social life on the present University Heights from 1860 to 1890 are pleasantly described by Mr. Schwab's daughter in a tasteful little book printed in 1925.¹⁴ In 1886 Mr. H. L. Cammann took many photographs of the Mali estate, and two are reproduced in the present volume.¹⁵

These are the two estates purchased by the University, the Mali property in 1892, and the Schwab property in 1908, as has been described in Chapter VIII of this history.

To the north of the Archer farm lay the farm of Nicholas Berrian, purchased from George van Alst on August 24, 1765.¹⁶ This farm extended from the latitude of the Gould Memorial Library to the present Fordham Road. Upon the division of the Berrian property, Nicholas Berrian, who received the southern half, sold forty acres to William Beach Lawrence, on April 19, 1836.¹⁷ Mr. Lawrence resold the same estate to Mr. George B. Butler in 1845. Mr. Butler sold a southern strip to Mr. Elliott, as we have seen; but retained the rest, and built upon it, perhaps early in the Civil War, a stone mansion, which is the present Graduate Hall. Shortly after building the house, he sold the whole estate in 1864 to Loring Andrews, benefactor of New York University. This, therefore, is the parcel marked "Loring Andrews" on the map. Of how it passed in 1885 to the New York Skin and Cancer Hospital, and was then bought in 1893 by the "Ohio Associates," the story is told in Chapter VIII of this history. Chancellor MacCracken bought and occupied the mansion and the western third of the property in 1894. In 1925 New York University purchased the MacCracken property; and that fraction of the Berrian farm was thus added to the Campus.

¹⁴ *Vide* footnote 13.

¹⁵ *Opp.* p. 146.

¹⁶ The deed was exhibited in Chancery upon the division of the Berrian property in 1833, recorded in Westchester Deeds, Lib. 48, p. 286.

¹⁷ Westchester Deeds, Lib. 66, p. 85.

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ography of sources.

may, however, be helpful to future historians to offer specialized lists: one, a short bibliography of earlier histories of the University; the other, a list, which may be incomplete, of periodical publications which have been issued by the students, alumni, or faculties of the University. Official publications by the University are needed:

GENERAL HISTORIES OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

HISTORY OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

University of the State of New York, Washington, 1900.

The sixth Chancellor devoted much time to an original study of the history of the University, from the sources. This article, short but succinct, is the main product of his research.

4. MacCracken, Henry M., and Sihler, Ernest G.: *Seventy Years. A History of New York University* (in the Series, *Universities and Their Sons*, edited by Joshua L. Chamberlain), 2v., Boston, 1901.

Chapters 1-8 and 12 were written by Professor E. G. Sihler; Chapters 9-11 by Chancellor MacCracken. Some of the bibliographical material in vol. 2 was prepared by Willis Fletcher Johnson, '79. The chapters written by the Chancellor, especially Chapter 9 upon the reorganization of the Medical College in 1899, have much original interest as presenting his own views on that complicated question. The greater part of the history, however, was the result of painstaking research by Professor Sihler; and the custom, which I have followed, of calling this book "Dr. Sihler's History of New York University" is justifiable. All friends of the University owe a great debt of gratitude to the learned author.

5. Fuller, Harold de W.: *Historical Sketches about New York University*. A series of nineteen articles published in vols. VI and VII of the *New York University Alumnus* (1925-27).

To a considerable extent these articles are based upon Dr. Sihler's history; but some additional material was used, especially papers belonging to John W. Weeks, '39, now to be found in the University archives.

II. PERIODICALS PUBLISHED BY THE STUDENTS, ALUMNI, OR FACULTIES OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY (EXCEPT WHEN OTHERWISE NOTED, TO BE FOUND IN THE GENERAL LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY)

1. The *Adelphi*; (3 nos. 1833?).

No copy is known to exist. Cornelius Mathews, A.B. 1834, however, in his article *Temple Court* (published in *The Manhattan*, July, 1883), speaks of the *Adelphi* as a magazine published by Professor Tappan's class (especially by Samuel Hammett); and the MS. records of the Adelphic Society, a short-lived literary society, the membership of which soon

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL

passed into the younger Eucleian Society, show that, apparently in the spring of 1833, three numbers of the magazine were printed, at a cost of \$103. The Adelpic Society was apparently disrupted by the high cost of printing!

2. The *New York University Magazine*; 2 nos., March and April, 1847. Published by William Taylor and Co.

The editors were anonymous, but apparently alumni of the University. The articles are mostly unsigned, and are of good literary quality.

3. The *College Tablet*. Published by the Delta Chapter of the Psi Upsilon Fraternity. Vol. I, Nos. 1-6, January 15 to April 1, 1850.

Pages 1-8 are reproduced in facsimile in the *Diamond of Psi Upsilon*, January, 1931, as a part of a history of the New York University chapter, written by James Abbott, '83.

4. The *University Item*; 3 nos. (1861?) and 1866.

No copies of Nos. 1 and 2 are known to exist. No. 3, for March 1, 1866, is of folio size, four pages; its first editorial states that "after a death of five years, the *University Item* has found a resurrection."

5. The *Philomathean*. Jan., 1874-May, 1875. Published by the Philomathean Literary Society of the University of the City of New York.

An undergraduate publication of considerable merit.

6. The *University Quarterly*. Vols. I-XVIII. Feb., 1878, to April, 1895.

The first New York University periodical to have more than ephemeral existence. Edited by the undergraduates, it shows evidences of sympathy and advice from the faculty and alumni, and contains many articles of historic importance.

7. The *University*. Vols. I-III, No. 4, Oct. 1, 1886-Jan. 15, 1890.

Designed, probably, to be more "collegiate" than the staid *Quarterly*, it ceased with a severe criticism of the *University Forum* (*vide* No. 8), which, the *University* says, "is altogether a very sad affair."

HISTORY OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

8. The *University Forum*. (December, 1889?) to October, 1894.

The set in the University Library is incomplete, the first and perhaps other numbers being missing. The sub-title, "a non-partisan monthly published by the students and alumni of Law, Medical, and Arts and Sciences Departments of the University of the City of New York," and also the contents, suggest that the *Forum* was designed to represent more fully the interests of the professional schools, and to avoid the "partisanship" of the *University Quarterly*. The *Forum* was apparently suppressed by faculty action after the October, 1894, issue.

9. The *University Item*. Vol. I—Vol. III, No. 23. Dec. 6, 1894, to April 29, 1897. Published at University Heights, in quarto size; Vol. I, fortnightly; Vols. II and III, weekly.

The first attempt at a strictly undergraduate newspaper, begun very shortly after the move to University Heights. The attempt was not, at least financially, very successful; and the *Item* ceased publication on April 29, 1897, unless "two special numbers for May," announced in the April 28th issue, actually appeared.

10. The *Triangle*. Vol. IV to Vol. XII, No. 25. Nov. 3, 1897, to Dec. 5, 1906. Weekly.

With the revival of an undergraduate newspaper in the autumn of 1897, in spite of its new name the first volume was numbered *four*, in continuation of the *Item*.

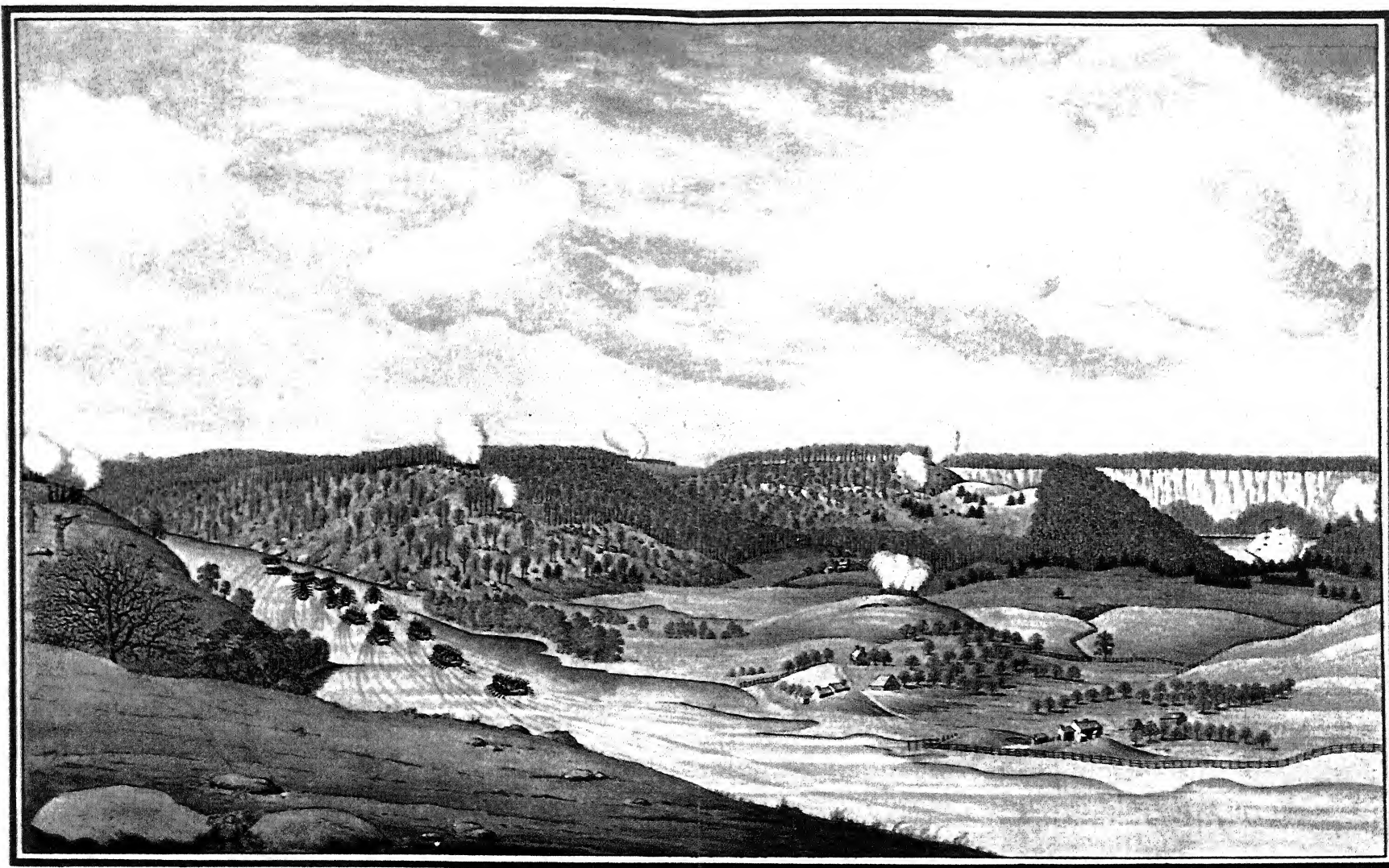
11. The *Knickerbocker*. Published monthly at New York University by the Eucleian Literary Society. Vol. I to Vol. II, No. 3. March 15, 1900, to January, 1901.

Probably the first attempt of the Eucleian Society to justify its literary character by publication.

12. The *Stylus*. Published monthly through the college year by the students of New York University. Vol. I to Vol. II, No. 1. Dec., 1901 to Nov., 1902.

Charles Galway, '01, the editor of the *Knickerbocker*, became the editor of the *Stylus*, which continued its traditions for a brief year.

13. The *Annual Bulletin* of the Eucleian Literary Society. 1 number, 1906-07.



THE BRITISH ATTACK ON FORT WASHINGTON

November 8, 1776

From a contemporary water-color sketch by Captain Thomas Davies

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14. *The Colonnade of New York University*. Vols. I to VI. Jan., 1908, to June, 1913. Ordinarily, monthly.

Published by the Andiron Club of New York University, the *Colonnade* was the first magazine published by students and instructors of the University College to maintain a high literary standard. In 1913 the Andiron Club, severing its connection with the University, became "The Andiron Club of New York City" and dropped the words of *New York University* from the title of *The Colonnade*.

15. *The New Yorker. The New York University Weekly*. Vols. I to XV. Nov. 14, 1907, to May 17, 1922. Octavo, Vols. I-IV; thenceforth, folio.

16. *The Military Violet*. Six weekly numbers, Oct. 29, 1918, to Dec. 4, 1918, published by the students of the S.A.T.C. at University Heights, while the *New Yorker* was suspended.

17. *The Washington Square Dealer*; Vol. I to Vol. VIII, Nov. 7, 1913(?)—May, 1920.

A weekly newspaper published by the undergraduates of the schools at Washington Square.

18. *The New York University Daily News*. Vols. I-V, 1922-7; Vols. XXXIII—, 1927—.

The first daily newspaper published by the students of New York University. It resulted from the amalgamation of the *New Yorker* (No. 15), and of the *Washington Square Dealer* (No. 17). In the fall of 1927, the volume number XXXIII was given to what would ordinarily have been Volume VI; and this new enumeration is continued to the present. Volumes I to XXXII are assumed to be, respectively, Vols. I to III of the *University Item*, IV to XII of the *Triangle*, I to XV of the *New Yorker*, and I to V of the *Daily News*.

The *Daily News* has also published (1927-1931), as a supplement, four volumes of a *Critical Review*.

19. *The Medley of New York University*. Vol. I—, Nov., 1913—.

During its earlier years published under the auspices of the Euclidean Literary Society, and later by an undergraduate board. A humorous, or "comic," periodical.

HISTORY OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

20. The *Arch.* Vol. I, 1921-2; Vol. II-VI, 1923-1928. A few later issues, unnumbered.

A literary periodical, published by the students of the Washington Square College.

21. The *Geyser*, Vols. I to IV. March, 1926, to Nov., 1928.

A satirical and literary quarterly, published by students at University Heights, which deserved a longer life.

22. The *Alumni News*. Devoted to the interests of the College of Arts and Pure Science, and the School of Applied Science. Vols. I to III. Monthly, Dec., 1917-May, 1920.

23. The *New York University Alumnus*. Devoted to the interests of the alumni of all schools of the University. Vol. I- , Oct., 1920- . Monthly, 1920-1925; weekly, 1925-1929; fortnightly, 1929- .

24. The *University Law Review*, conducted at the University of the City of New York, under the editorial supervision of Austin Abbott, Dean of the Law School. (Volume III edited by Frank H. Sommer). Vols. I-III; 1894-97.

Vol. I is not in the University Library.

25. *Lex*, published by the School of Law, New York University. Vol. I-Vol. II, No. 2, January, 1907-December, 1907.

Vol. II, No. 1 is not in the University Library.

26. The *New York University Law Review*. Vol. I- ; 1924- .

27. *The Air Law Review*. Vol. I- ; 1930-

III. UNDERGRADUATE ANNUALS

28. The *Lyre*, published by members of the secret fraternities of the Junior Class, '87. 1885-6.

The first of what was expected to be a series of annuals published by the junior class of the University College. The class of 1888, however, did not continue the series.

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29. The *Violet*. Vol. I— , 1890— .

From 1890 until 1931, the junior class of the University College (and from 1899 of the College of Engineering), beginning with the class of 1891, each year published this annual. In 1932 the publication was taken over by the Senior class. Most of the volumes are more or less profusely illustrated, and are therefore of very great value for the pictorial side of university history.

30. The *Commerce Violet*. Vol. I— ; 1908— .

The annual of the undergraduates of the School of Commerce.

31. The *Washington Square Album*. Vol. I— , 1922— .

Published annually from 1922 to 1926 by the juniors; since 1927, by the seniors of the Washington Square College.

32. The *Bellevue Violet*. Vol. I— , 1925— .

The undergraduate annual of the Medical College.

33. The *Dental Violet*. Vol. I— , 1926— .

The undergraduate annual of the College of Dentistry.

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